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# Near East/North Africa Report

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## NEAR EAST/NORTH AFRICA REPORT

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## CONTENTS

## AFGHANISTAN

Traditionalist, Fundamentalist Rebels Said To Have Split (Michael Fathers; FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 6 Feb 81).....	1
---	---

## ALGERIA

## Briefs

Information Gathering Council Installed	3
ENITA Commander Installed	3
Juvenile Delinquency	3
Aircraft Maintenance Facility Inaugurated	4

## IRAN

Tudeh Organ Insists That U.S. Intends To Invade Iran (MARDOM, 19 Jan 81).....	5
--	---

Raja'i Administration Accused of Suppressing Political Freedom (RANJBAR, 15 Jan 81).....	8
---	---

Raja'i Attacked for His False Claims 'Neither East nor West' (RANJBAR, 8 Jan 81).....	10
--	----

Guardian Council's Legal Status and Functions Analyzed (JAMA, 1 Jan 81).....	14
---	----

Pressing Economic Problems Aired (Various sources, various dates).....	19
---	----

Shortage of Wheat	
Disadvantages of Nationalized Foreign Trade	
Workers Hurt by Inflation	
Financial Crisis, Need for a Loan	

**IRAQ**

U.S. Naval Presence in Persian Gulf Attacked  
(AL-'IRAQ, 11 Feb 81)..... 25

U.S. Zionist Interests Said To Be Inextricably Integrated  
(AL-'IRAQ, 11 Feb 81)..... 28

**ISRAEL**

West Bank, Gaza Press Counters Censorship  
(Michael Precker; MONDAY MORNING, 9-15 Feb 81)..... 30

**JORDAN**

Hazards of U.S. Nuclear Passage in Suez Canal Pointed Out  
(Salah Abd al-Samad; AL-RA'Y, 21 Feb 81)..... 39

**MOROCCO**

Boucetta's Speech Before Nonaligned Conference  
(MAROC SOIR, 16 Feb 81)..... 41

Moroccan-Soviet Civil Air Cooperation  
(L'OPINION, 9 Feb 81)..... 49

**Briefs**  
Fuel Price Increases ..... 51

**SUDAN**

Solar-Powered Waterpump Planned  
(AL-SAHAFAH, 21 Jan 81)..... 53

Experimental Farm Official Discusses Rice Cultivation  
(al-Rayh Ahmad al-Zubayr Interview; AL-SAHAFAH, 27 Jan 81).... 54

**Briefs**  
Al-Rahad Agricultural Project ..... 59  
Al-Qash Basin Research ..... 59  
Aid From Korea ..... 59

**SULTANATE OF OMAN**

Harsh Treatment of Political Prisoners Cited  
(UMAN AL-THAWRAH, Oct, Nov, Dec 80)..... 61

Qabus Initiates New Crackdown on Dissidents  
(UMAN AL-THAWRAH, Oct, Nov, Dec 80)..... 63

Non-Alignment, Support of U.S. Incompatible  
(UMAN AL-TEAWRAH, Oct, Nov, Dec 80)..... 65

Briefs  
Establishment of U.S. Bases 66

TRADITIONALIST, FUNDAMENTALIST REBELS SAID TO HAVE SPLIT

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 6 Feb 81 p 4

[Article by Michael Fathers: "Afghan Resistance Splits"]

[Text] Afghanistan's resistance movement has split again into two camps. For 1 year the large rebel groups had united under the pressure of the joint offensive by government units and Soviet intervention troops. In the view of Western and Near East diplomats in Pakistan, the prevailing reasons are primarily of an ideological nature. On one side, there are the Moslem fundamentalists who had already opposed the Soviet puppet government in Kabul before the invasion, by supporting the spread of local insurrections until they gained country-wide significance. On the other side, there are the traditional holders of power, the feudal big landowners who consider themselves the spokesmen for the village elders and local leaders. In January, the conflict which had characterized the situation before the USSR invasion in December 1979 broke out again openly.

The land-owning traditionalists are accusing the fundamentalists of wanting to establish their own Islamic government in Kabul although they only represent a tiny majority of the population--who, however, to date have been land-owners. The fundamentalists, on their part, are accusing even moderate traditionalists of cooperating with the United States and other Western governments to prevent the rule of the country by forces loyal to the true Islam.

The well-organized and highly motivated fundamentalists consider the land-owners unscrupulous opportunists who, allegedly, would even be willing to make a deal with the Kremlin and to share the power with the communists in Kabul if they could regain their old status. To the West they present themselves as leaders of secular parties, whose reform ideas are in many respects similar to those of the party in power, the Democratic People's Party. Compared to the traditionalists ("Moderates"), they embody the socially weakest group, compared to the rulers under Babrak Karmal and his Soviet backers, they represent the national revolution.

The split in the uneven alliance became apparent during a week of accusations. Three of the five groups within the movement belong to the camp of the moderates, two are on the side of the fundamentalists. The movement was formed in January 1980 following a conference of Islamic foreign ministers, and somehow it stayed together bound by the common resistance against the Soviet presence.

In the opinion of diplomats, the new polarization came about primarily because of renewed efforts to find a political solution to the conflict. In January Pakistan suggested negotiations with the leadership in Kabul, excluding the rebels. On the other hand, Egyptian President Anwar a-Sadat, who had supplied the rebels with weapons, advocated the establishment of a government in exile.

The rebels were strengthened in their political ambitions by Sadat's promise that he would supply them with ground-air missiles. Both camps agree that this weapon could change the situation in the war against government and intervention troops in their favor. And in the opinion of the diplomats, whoever has the missiles can also influence the course of future events.

During the past year, one of the moderate groups, the Afghan National Liberation Front led by Sibghatullah Mujaddedi, was the major recipient of AK-47 rifles produced in Egypt and rocket shells of Soviet origin. In contrast, the fundamentalist groups are better organized and they have better financial support from Arab states. The most significant role is played by the Hezbe-Islam group under the leadership of Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

The first step toward the split was taken in January by the three leaders of the traditionalists when they withdrew their confidence in Abdul Rasul Sayaf, the chief of the alliance, because he had said that Hekmatyar had been the real leader of the rebellion. They accuse Hekmatyar of looking upon himself as the Afghan equivalent of the Iranian revolutionary leader, the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni. At any rate, in the opinion of the diplomats, the Hezbe-Islam group is the strongest, financially best situated and strictest of the Islamic rebel organizations that are controlled from Pakistan. It receives money from Tehran as well as from fundamentalist partisans of other Islamic states.

During the last 2 years, Hekmatyar has kept out of the political bickering among other guerrilla leaders--apparently convinced that some day both sides will recognize him as the leader. Only a few weeks after the resistance movement was formed, he left it because he was denied the leadership role. Now, according to his spokesman, he is willing to rejoin the fundamentalists since the "undesirable elements," as he calls the moderates, have left the alliance.

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CSO: 4403

BRIEFS

INFORMATION GATHERING COUNCIL INSTALLED--Algiers (APS)--Yesterday morning Posts and Telecommunications Minister Abdennour Bekka installed the National Information Gathering Council at his ministry's headquarters in accordance with a decree published in March 1980. The council is made up of representatives of the various ministries and organizations involved. In a speech given on this occasion, Mr Bekka stressed the important tasks awaiting the members of the commission, tasks on which Algeria is basing great hopes. The mission of these members will be to gather information, particularly in the areas of the economy, agriculture and security. Text Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 15 Feb 81 p 37 8568

ENITA COMMANDER INSTALLED--Algiers (APS)--Lt Col Mostafa Benloucif, Central Committee member and secretary general of the Ministry of National Defense, presided late yesterday morning over a ceremony installing Lt Col Rahal Yahia, Central Committee member, as the new commander of ENITA National School for Engineers and Technicians. The ceremony was attended by Col Ali Bouhadja, commander of the seventh military region, Boukhari Mustapha, secretary general of the Ministry of Higher Education, and several central directors of the Ministry of National Defense. Text Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 9 Feb 81 p 37 8568

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY--The problem of juvenile delinquency is very much in the news. It is one of the most painful (and dangerous) forms of social maladjustment among children. The newspapers abound with cases of delinquency; absurd acts--wanton and without motive--are being carried out. The problem of delinquency is naturally of interest to educators, society as a whole, psychologists and doctors. Moreover, troubles of a mental nature, such as mental deficiency, are often detected among young delinquents. This is logical, considering the frightful stupidity of certain criminal acts. There is no doubt that war, the abandonment of many children, the decline in moral and human values and apprehension for the future have led to a resurgence of the "rage to live" and juvenile delinquency. The decline in morality is certainly one of the principal factors. And the elements of this decline are not lacking. How would many children not be affected by this decline in morale and respect for others? And also by the desire to "enjoy" life as quickly as possible? Living conditions are also very important. Indigence, poverty, unemployment and alcoholism are not factors

designed to set things right. When external temptations are added to the preceding, one can, in fact, see why delinquency is more prevalent in cities than in rural areas. With regard to the family circle, most authorities agree that proper organization in this respect plays an important role.

Text Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 11 Feb 81 p 12 8568

AIRCRAFT MAINTENANCE FACILITY INAUGURATED--Algiers (APS)--Mr Salah Goudjil, Central Committee member and minister of transportation and fishing, accompanied by the director general of Air Algeria, inaugurated a new hangar yesterday morning at Houari Boumedienne Airport for the maintenance and repair of planes. The hangar is composed of several shops specializing in the maintenance and overhauling of the Boeing 727 and the Boeing 737. With the inauguration of this hangar, the cost of maintaining planes will drop by 150 million centimes in Algerian currency in addition to a drop in the price of spare parts imported from abroad. Moreover, the company's technicians will acquire more knowledge. We should like to point out that the minister also inaugurated a restaurant facility capable of supplying 3,000 meals per day--enough to satisfy the needs of Air Algeria's personnel and that of supplementary services based at Houari Boumedienne Airport. Text Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 15 Feb 81 p 1 8568

CSO: 4400

## TUDEH ORGAN INSISTS THAT U.S. INTENDS TO INVADE IRAN

Tehran MARDOM in Persian 19 Jan 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] Alexander Haig new White House secretary of state, during the hearings for his appointment, in the U.S. senate foreign relations committee stated:

"The United States must increase its military presence in the Persian Gulf region".

He said: "The United States must be prepared to act even alone without the participation of the allies and maintain access to oil resources of the Persian Gulf which is vitally important to the United States."

The Secretary of state's statement approves and follows the same policy proposed in 1978 by President Carter as the "Carter Doctrine". The essence of the "Carter Doctrine" is that America has declared large areas, in various parts of the world, which possess raw material resources, particularly oil, as U.S. "boundries of vital interests" and assigns the duty of defending and maintaining accessibility to these resources to itself. America also considers her duty to interfere militarily in these regions in order to maintain access to these areas.

Of course throughout the history of American imperialist foreign policy such doctrines as the "Monroe Doctrine", the "Eisenhower Doctrine" and the "Nixon Doctrine" which are clear indications of impudent claims and futile efforts of American imperialism in establishing world domination and playing the role of the world gendarme, are not unprecedented and the outcome of all these is clear for everybody. However the new U.S. secretary of state's words are significant from another point of view, namely extended American war supplies into the Persian Gulf and Indian Ocean, plots and projects for direct military intervention against the revolution and the Islamic Republic of Iran. Haig's statement corroborates the fact that danger of American military intervention and armed attack against the Islamic Republic of Iran remains and an all-out and vast preparation is being carried out in order to carry out such an intervention. A look at recent American activities and measures in the Persian Gulf region together with official statements coupled with overt and clear threats against Iran clarifies to a greater extent, such danger.

According to the ASSOCIATED PRESS, Fernandes [sic] the official spokesman and advisor of President elect Reagan stated: "Immediately after assuming the

presidential post, Reagan must issue an ultimatum to Iran and demand from Iran the release of the hostages within 5 days if not, "I shall review the matter in congress and declare war on Iran". In this statement phase to phase plan of bombing various Iranian resources and regions and the eventual attack of Iran by American military forces was described. Parallel to such threatening statements uttered by officials, American mass media are carrying out extensive propaganda in order to prepare the American public for war with Iran.

On Monday 16 Dey 1959 [6 Jan 1981] American television networks showed a film about exercises of American military units using various weapons and devices and war techniques in desert conditions in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Nevada and California, namely conditions similar to those in Iran. This film showed various techniques of crossing Iranian border and landing of troops by heavy helicopters in the Mexican coast which closely resembles the Persian Gulf Coast.

Several months ago a number of American military units were transferred to Egypt and are undergoing military training to land on the Iranian coast. According to the report of AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT newspaper published in Saudi Arabia, the number of American soldiers in Egypt has increased during recent days. This report states that the American defense minister is covertly preparing American forces in Egypt which had been selected for military operations against Iran. Over 2000 American officers and soldiers are practicing shooting in Egyptian garrisons' shooting ranges.

According to recent reports published in the American press, the 7th brigade Marine Corps which had been dissolved after the American defeat in Vietnam, has been re-organized. The personnel of this brigade numbering 12,000 officers, NCO's and privates are receiving military training in areas in America resembling the Persian Gulf region. Additionally, recently 3 American warships carrying 1800 officers and soldiers have left the South China Sea waters for the Indian Ocean in order to join the American fleet in this region. Presently 34 war ships are stationed in the Persian Gulf waters and seas close to it. According to another report seven other war ships from the vanguard reserve unit which supply marine units with arms, ammunition and other military hardware for a number of weeks, have also been stationed in the Persian Gulf.

On the other hand, American newspapers are exposing various projects from American military intervention against Iran. The NEW YORK TIMES writes in this context:

"The Pentagon intends to make air strikes against Tehran and Isfahan as military units stationed in these two towns have been weakened due to the transfer of military forces to the Iraqi war front".

In another American newspaper, the WASHINGTON POST, it is stated that American officials have been asked to blow up and occupy Khark Island, as well as occupy Lavan Island which has an air base, and close down the Persian Gulf to Iranian ships.

According to a report in ETELLA'AT newspaper dated 16 Dey 59 [6 Jan 1981], Washington strategists are of the opinion that Iran-Iraq war has weakened the Islamic

revolutionary forces and has created needed conditions for military intervention in the internal affairs of this country.

The NEW YORK TIMES asks American officials to "immediately mine all Iranian ports" and advises American authorities to "transfer rapid deployment forces to the Persian Gulf immediately".

Most recent news is that "rapid deployment forces" in Egypt and Israel have been placed in a state of alert and Washington has also asked NATO-member countries to place their military forces on a state of alert. There are talks that American military forces would commence their armed attack against Iran by occupying Bandar Abbas.

Thus, in order to carry out adventurous projects, such as military intervention and armed attack against Iran, American imperialism is continuing to prepare itself extensively in political, military and propaganda spheres, thus, seriously threatening the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Complete alertness, mobilization of all elements and forces, all out preparedness and unity of all revolutionary forces are necessary and vital factors needed for countering, neutralizing and defeating this conspiracy.

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CSO: 4906

## RAJA'I ADMINISTRATION ACCUSED OF SUPPRESSING POLITICAL FREEDOM

Tehran RANJBAR in Persian 15 Jan 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] The Prime Minister, in the course of an interview broadcast recently from the Arabic program of the Voice of the Islamic Republic has claimed that the government is trying to have a logical encounter with various parties as well as opposition and supporting groups.

This claim of the Prime Minister has been made at a time when more difficulties are being created for activities of parties and groups due to the imposition of more restrictions of freedom which are the gifts of the revolution and have been referred to in the Constitution. An example is the illegal occupation of the offices of some groups, parties and newspapers, by suspicious groups for more than six months, which so far no action has been taken to investigate the complaints made by the real holders of these offices.

Under such conditions, how should the Prime Ministers' words be interpreted. Are the statements made by Mr "Rajai" to our Arabic speaking neighbors based on truth or is it one of those promises and claims which have been heard from the government but never proven to be truthful? All evidence indicates that the latter supposition is true and this statement is, as usual, propaganda. The mere conducting of this interview with the Arabic program of the radio and addressing the neighbors of Iran regarding the freedom of activities of groups in Iran, while Raja'i's administration has not made any effort to establish a dialogue with the parties and groups subject to present discussion (except the Tudeh Party and the majority guerrillas—"Cherikhaye Akaariyat"), is the primary indication of the propagandistic character of Rajai's statements. Principally people inquire as to the basis of this government's "logical" encounter with parties and groups. If the purported logic is the logic of the Constitution in which the freedom of activities of parties and groups has been explicitly provided for, customarily, the government based on this logic should defend the freedom of activities including putting an end to the illegal occupation of the offices of parties and groups. Everyone knows that if the government had such an intention in mind, its enforcement would not have been a difficult task, because people favor freedom. Also this idea still has some support in the government, and because its implementation tools are in the hand of the government. The continuing lawlessness regarding activities of parties and groups in itself, is an illustration of the fact that such logic is not intended and among responsible officials some cannot and others do not basically want the Constitution to be enforced in this respect.

At least, encounter between Raja'i's administration and the freedom of parties and groups is not based on the logic of the Constitution, rather it is based on actual advocacy of using a club against freedom and because of this reason, his administration does not have the support of the masses.

Raja'i's administration must have realized that it cannot stand on its own feet by using such propaganda. People only desire to achieve their revolutionary goals and objectives and will remove every obstacle on their way to ensure their freedom and independence.

This propaganda has lost its acuteness even among the people of the neighboring countries; and "exporting revolution" is not practical by such baseless claims. People of the world have often heard such claims and their governments, by following the same method, expose them to propaganda. Therefore, the government should not expect anyone to believe such claims as long as it has not taken practical steps in enforcing the Constitution and confronting those clubs which come down, from right and left, on the heads of independence seeking groups.

9721

CSO: 4906

## RAJA'I ATTACKED FOR HIS FALSE CLAIMS 'NEITHER EAST NOR WEST'

Tehran RANJBAR in Persian 8 Jan 81 pp 1, 6

[Text] On the occasion of honoring 28 Safar (Monday) a large number of Tehran people gathered at the Khorasan Square to participate in the mourning ceremony. Mr Mohammad Ali Raja'i, the prime minister, in his speech enumerating the problems and difficulties facing his administration, addressed the opposition to his cabinet and made some points which need further thought and analysis.

Of course, the composition of the participants in the ceremony of 28 Safar, from the stand point of political side taking, was such that the organizers of the ceremony, by installing a poster of President Bani Sadr on the stage, were trying to pretend that the ceremony was not reflective of the narrow mindedness of one particular group. On the other side, masses of people by chanting the slogan "Hail to Bani Sadr" along with other slogans repeated extensively and by carrying pictures of the president, tremendously affected Mr Raja'i. A great difference existed between this ceremony and the one for Arba'in (mourning day). Thus, sound of Hojjatoleslam 'Abad Dast's speech, who was engaged in making accusations or perhaps "criticism" could be heard less from the speakers of those sidewalk stores selling tapes. During the Arba'in ceremony, pamphlets and leaflets containing agitating notes intended to compare Imam Khomeyni's statements with those made by Bani Sadr concerning various national affairs in order to place the president and the Imam Khomeyni against each other in the people's mind, were being distributed rather extensively by several persons. In contrast with the Arba'in ceremony, such activities were less observable. What has caused this difference to exist between Arba'in and 28 Safar at least in connection with the president and whether or not it will continue to exist in the future ceremonies, is a matter which will be more illuminated by future ceremonies. However, Mr Raja'i in his speech made the following points which are briefly stated as follows:

## Regarding The Slogan 'Neither East Nor West'

Mr Raja'i, in his statements defended the slogan "Neither East nor West" and in condemning some of the opposition to his cabinet, further stated: "our people shrewdly rejected both the East and the West and instead, introduced a government which is referred to in the people's slogan as "neither East nor West but The Islamic Republic". Mr Raja'i is correct in saying that this is the slogan of our people who have intelligently rejected both the West and the East. It is to what

extent this policy and slogan of the people has been actually implemented is a question to be asked from Mr Raja'i himself.

Of course, Mr Raja'i is the only member of the cabinet who at least in talks and speeches, refers to the claim of neither East nor West and insists on it. However, it is better for Mr Raja'i to make a short analysis of his cabinet's operation to see how everyday, the Russian leaders and their hirelings penetrate into the economic, political and social affairs of our country. Has Mr Raja'i's cabinet, like the entire heroic and revolutionary people of Iran, with complete cleverness, rejected the super powers of the East and the West? The actions taken in recent months indicates otherwise. The "Neither West nor East trip" taken by Hojjatolislam Rafsanjani, to Arab countries; the approval of the one sided transit treaty between Iran and Russia; current negotiations taking place behind closed doors between Iran and the Russians for Plundering Iran's gas in accordance with the economic protocol signed by Iran and the Russians in addition to other 90 provisions of this protocol at a time when there exist a contested atmosphere and political chaos, are all clear examples of a contrary policy.

On the other hand some of the responsible officials have an illusion toward the Russians. A few others in their slogan "Neither East nor West", which is only a talk, are trying to establish the policy that Russia is Iran's "friend" and can "help" Iran in its struggle against America, and publicize the necessity of purchasing nuclear weapons from Russia to be used in confrontations, with America.

Mr Raja'i, in his statements, correctly talks about the principle of self reliance in dealing with the two East-West superpowers. However, Mr Jalalddin Farsi, in his Arba'in Speech, introduced "Russian made weapons" as the sole protectors and strengthener of the Iran's independence against America. Perhaps some might say that different people have different views and everyone is free to express his or her views, but such freedom of expression is being enjoyed only by the Russian agents who freely propagandize Iran's dependence on the Russians, not by anybody else even those who are candidates for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Mr Raja'i's cabinet. If Mr Raja'i believes in the principle of self reliance, why does he introduce individuals with such attitude as the candidates for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs? In forming Iran's foreign policy why did such people participate in the recent seminar (The Seminar for Forming of Iran's Foreign Policy)? Does not Mr Raja'i have knowledge of these matters? Therefore, today it is not enough just to say words about the claim of neither East nor West; these informed and intelligent people no longer accept oral claims and want this clear policy be carried out in practice.

#### Presenting Plans To The Government

Mr Raja'i in his speech addressed to the opposition, condemned them for not having a plan and asked them to present one if they have one. It seems that Mr Raja'i, after all this time, has just begun to think about having a plan for the government. Because when Mr. Raja'i's cabinet was first introduced to the Majlis, one of its distinguishing features was that it did not have any plan and the only point emphasized by the supporters of the cabinet in the Majlis was that his [Raja'i's] Cabinet was revolutionary and ideological and even Mr Raja'i in his first press

interview, explicitly announced that he does not have any plan, etc. When Mr Raja'i introduced his cabinet to the Majles, to get the vote of confidence and presented some sort of a plan, some Majles representatives objected to it. For example, Mr Mohammed Mehdi Ja'fari, in his statements in opposing Mr Raja'i's plan announced that he was no disagreement with the members of the cabinet, but this cabinet has not presented any sort of a plan etc., some other representatives, including Mr Razzani Khorshid Dast, were opposing for the same reason, however, in that session Mr Raja'i himself saw no necessity for having a well scheduled and defined economic and political plan. He merely said that his cabinet is an ideological cabinet which will act in compliance with the Constitution.

Our party in its part studied and covered the so called 'plan' in RANJBAR prior to giving the vote of confidence to Mr Raja'i's cabinet and announced that "This is not a plan, rather it is only an introduction to a plan".

However at that time, those who opposed Mr Raja'i's cabinet and insisted upon the necessity of having a plan, were being subjected to accusations such as "westerner" etc.

On the other hand, government operations in recent months well indicate that his [Raja'i's] cabinet has not had a defined economic and foreign policy. Current economic scarcities and disorderliness and inconsistency in foreign policy in addition to the state of war, are the results of not having a plan. A clear example in the field of foreign policy is the question of freedom of American hostages. Since the beginning, the present administration has been making seemingly revolutionary speeches but in practice, its policy has changed 180 degrees.

Irrespective of the above matters Mr Raja'i and his cabinet members favored a "united" government and everyone remembers that one of the conclusions made by Mr Raja'i's administration in relation to the sluggishness and conservatism of the temporary government was that it lacked unity. The supporters of the cabinet in the open sessions of the Majles have presented the unity of the cabinet as "the great gift of the Islamic Revolution". But what has happened that has made Mr Raja'i ask the opposition to present their plan?

In our opinion this democratic approach taken by you [Raja'i] who had been forced to take an apparently impartial position due to the pressure exerted by the vast majority of people throughout the country, does not convince the people. This is exemplified by the fact that when you [Raja'i] accused your opposition of being "liberal", people decisively objected which caused your speech to be interrupted for a few minutes and you promptly changed the subject of your discussion. Since you label all your opponents as "liberals" and "not ideological", how do you expect people to accept your claim regarding the invitation of others to present a plan? Is not this manipulating the people?

#### Enforcing the Constitution

Mr Raja'i in his speech has also talked about enforcing the Constitution by his cabinet and has emphasized the necessity of such enforcement. No one can deny the fact that the nation must be saved from chaos and disorder by enforcing the Constitution, but this statement of Mr Raja'i has not been carried out in practice.

The facts are that in the offices show that lawlessness is disseminated every where. Who is responsible for these lawlessnesses? In addition, one of the reasons for disagreement between Mr Raja'i's cabinet and the President, is the non-enforcement of the constitution and a short survey in all administrative aspects of factories, the villages and city regions (shahrestan) show that lawlessness is dominating the administration of the country.

For example, according to a recent bill passed by the Majlis, purging in offices has been prohibited. Is this law being enforced? What are all these complaints made by civil servants against purging and purging committees for not investigating the status of those purged stem from? Are all these who raise objections counter-revolutionaries?

Is Article 38 which explicitly provides "any kind of torture used to obtain confession or information is prohibited" being enforced? It may be said that these matters are the concerns of the Revolutionary Courts or the High Judicial Council. But are the High Judicial Council or others, superior to the other two branches? Did not Mr Raja'i's cabinet by not enforcing the Constitution, cause Mr Ahadi, the Minister of Justice to resign? Hence, what is your purpose in enforcing the Constitution?

Therefore, we reach the conclusion that Mr Raja'i's claims regarding the enforcement of "neither East nor West" policy, observance of the Constitution and also his sudden invitation of others for presenting their plan, is not based upon serious beliefs but it is more a show off and a political game. The fact that he in his statements, has apparently retreated, is understandable due to the pressure exerted by the masses and various political forces of our society. However, our people do not pay much attention to such political gestures. Our people know that the government cannot at once take care of the numerous present problems. They desire a government which stands for national unity and integrity and by dependence on the vast majority of people and the fighting revolutionary forces, is able to fight the problems in order to save the Revolution from a dangerous impasse caused by exclusionism and revolutionary posing.

9721  
CSO: 4906

GUARDIAN COUNCIL'S LEGAL STATUS AND FUNCTIONS ANALYZED

Tehran JAMA in Persian 1 Jan 81 pp 1, 8

*(Article: "Statement of the Week: The Guardian Council: Responsibility without Power")*

*[Text]* At the Monday, 24 Azar (15 December) session of the Majlis, the minister of justice, in response to a number of questions from representatives, stated "In view of the fact that the constitution, so far as I am aware, unhesitatingly raises issues, especially in conjunction with the minister of justice's powers and responsibilities, we also have been in a conflict in evaluating the principles of the constitution, in an effort specifically to determine what powers and naturally what responsibilities the minister of justice has. This difference in evaluation between me and the Supreme Judicial Council on the principles of the constitution arose in connection with the subject of the powers of the minister and the Supreme Judicial Council and, as a consequence, we turned to the Guardian Council to resolve the dispute. After some time, the view of the Guardian Council was conveyed to us. I believed that Principle 88 describes the responsibility of the minister of justice vis-a-vis the parliament; at the same time that the minister of justice does not according to the constitution have the right to interfere in judicial matters, he does have the right of supervision. The Supreme Judicial Council considered that this view was in contradiction with the principles of the constitution; finally the issue was referred to the Guardian Council, and the Guardian Council's response was this: the function of the minister of justice is to establish a relationship between the judicial power and the legislative and executive powers, and he is committed to a responsibility for this function and to joint functions with the Council of Ministers. He has no responsibilities for judiciary organizations' matters such as the administration of financial, employment, service and other affairs - this subject is the responsibility of the Supreme Judicial Council."

At the Monday 8 December session of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, the prime minister, in response to a question from another representative, also stated "So far as I have studied the articles of the constitution, the president has no involvement in executive activities; the responsibility for executive activities lies with the government and the prime minister, and, with respect to indefensible or unconstitutional activities, the parliament holds the government accountable. As to the basic question, let us, as the government, since we are the executive branch, assume that someone is assigned by the Office of the President to conduct an investigation into matters in the Province of Khorasan; the question is raised by the government as to what

functions this person has here. If it is a matter of investigation and examination, the Supreme Judicial Council basically has a separate department, the National General Inspectorate, which is in charge of investigating this matter. I asked the Guardian Council to tell me, in view of the fact that the president is interested in getting involved in executive activities, to investigate what our duty is. Of course we sent letters two or three times and what I requested so to speak, apparently (this is my view), has not yet been done. We finally sent the last letter (yesterday), and we hope that this matter will soon become clear, in conjunction with what the president's function in the field of executive matters is and what responsibility the government has vis-a-vis the presidency and, on occasion, the Office of the Presidency."

Finally, we read in the newspapers Thursday 25 December the following text of the letter of the Guardian Council to the prime minister, although the original letter of the prime minister was not published: "In the name of God the most merciful and all-compassionate, Your Excellency Mr Mohammad Ali Rajae'i, prime minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, with reference to Letter 2886 dated 7 December 1980 regarding the determination of duties to do with references by persons representing and consulting the presidency to government organizations, intervention in executive matters, and the issuance of orders to employees, notice is given that:

"The issue was raised at the Guardian Council and subjected to discussion and examination, and the opinion of the absolute majority of council members is declared as follows: Since the president's consultants and representatives are not responsible officials, they do not, according to the constitution, have the right to intervene in executive matters and issue orders to government employees. Secretary of the Guardian Council." Now, in view of the importance of the issue of the Guardian Council's role in the system of the Islamic Republic and this council's duties in the constitution, it appeared that we should devote this week's statement to a description of this legal entity and the limits of its legal duties and powers, and meanwhile also take the opportunity to repeat the points we consider necessary with regard to the two subjects of the statements above, let that be the object of attention of the honorable members of the Guardian Council and other legal authorities."

The establishment of an entity titled the Guardian Council is an innovation in the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran which is beneficial and positive, and it can be the object of emulation and also be included in the other constitutions in the world. The importance of this entity, owing to its special duties and the fact that it is separate from the three governing powers in the Islamic Republic, lies in the fact that the Islamic Consultative Council has no legal validity without the Guardian Council (Principle 93). This council is the guardian of the tenets of Islam and the constitution, in conjunction with the laws ratified by the council from the standpoint that the laws ratified by this council are not at variance with the constitution and the provisions of Islam; if it considers that they are at variance, it must return them to the parliament for review (Principles 91 and 94). Interpreting the constitution is also a duty of the Guardian Council, and that is done with the approval of three quarters of the council. Another function of this council is surveillance over the election of the president, elections to the Islamic Consultative Council, and referendums and plebiscites (Principles 98 and 99), as well as the qualifications of candidates to the presidency, as regards their possession of the conditions included in the constitution, as they must enjoy the support of the Guardian Council (Principle 110).

Therefore, regarding the two above subjects on which the Guardian Council has expressed itself, it is apparently in support of the duty of interpreting the constitution that the question and the letters from the minister of justice and the prime minister should have been published, in order to eliminate ambiguity and in order to determine which principle or principles of the constitution these two views are interpreting, especially since no determination was made in the first statement of opinion regarding the majority of voters in the council and a reference was made to the absolute majority in the second statement of opinion, whereas, if the above opinions are an interpretation of principles of the constitution, they must be approved by three quarters, that is, at least nine of the 12 members, of the council.

In the light of the Guardian Council's interpretation of Principle 160 regarding the responsibility of the minister of justice - in connection with Principles 88 and 137 regarding the joint responsibility of the ministers vis-a-vis the laws ratified by the Council of State and responses to the questions by representatives, in view of the fact that the minister of justice is considered responsible for acting as a link between the judiciary power and the executive and legislative powers and responsible for joint duties with the Council of Ministers - it is necessary also to realize that the law has determined the limits of the powers of the minister of justice and other ministers (Principle 133) and that, in determining these limits, it is essential to give attention to the responsibilities declared in Principles 88, 134 and 137 regarding all the ministers in general and Principle 160 regarding the minister of justice in particular. In the event a law is codified, it must not be at variance with the principles which have been mentioned, and as a rule the Guardian Council will express opinions at the appropriate time. In view of the legal bill ratified by the Revolutionary Council on 7 July 1980, which assigns all powers both in removing and in appointing judges and so forth to the Supreme Judicial Council - ratified legislation which is now the criterion for the activity of the judiciary power - the views of the Guardian Council implicitly support this bill (and of course the application of this ratified legislation and other items of legislation ratified by the Revolutionary Council to the constitution is not among the functions of the Guardian Council) and cannot be subject to interpretation, since what is now being carried out is not at variance with the views of the Guardian Council. For this reason, do disagreements have arisen which might require interpretation. Therefore, the answer of the Guardian Council regarding the minister of justice's question, and his difference in views with the Supreme Judicial Council, can be justified on grounds that if this dispute concerns the interpretation of the bill ratified by the Revolutionary Council, its interpretation is not a function of the Guardian Council, while, if the dispute is over the validity or lack of validity of the law itself, again it is not possible for it to be raised in the Guardian Council in terms of whether it is conformity with the constitution (unless it has already been presented and ratified in the form of a unit article in the Islamic Consultative Assembly).

The representatives' question and request for clarification from ministers is in regards to their duties and responsibilities. Regarding the minister of justice, who, according to the view expressed by the Guardian Council and the Supreme Judicial Council, is just a link between the judiciary power and the executive and legislative powers, and has no other responsibility and duty, how can one raise a question and request for clarification and remove him by declaring a vote of lack of confidence?

Since he is not responsible for violations in the judiciary system, one cannot of course remove such a minister, since he is not responsible for the acts others committed resulting from violations by them. The notion that he commits a violation will be valid if the judiciary power has no responsibility though it possesses national judiciary powers, and no one is responsible for violations in the Ministry of Justice; it seems that in this manner the national judiciary system does not have need for a minister of justice -- indeed, a representative on behalf of this power, who can perform the role of the link is enough. Meanwhile, Principle 160 of the constitution considers the presence of a responsible minister for justice to be settled; it seems that this principle is not originative in regard to the appointment of the minister but is informative, or, in the words of a jurist, in the previous tyrannical regime, "We had an irresponsible person in power (the Shah) and found a powerless responsible person (the minister of justice)." Of course if the minister of justice is basically a powerless responsible person he will be an irresponsible but powerful person vis-a-vis the Supreme Judicial Council and if, God forbid, the Supreme Judicial Council and its members really perpetrate a violation, what source will they be responsible to and what will have to be done?

Regarding the second statement by the Guardian Council, it has not yet been determined if that is an interpretive statement of opinion; if it is to which principle of the constitution does the prime minister refer? Otherwise, the answer to a question which is not founded on the constitution, by the Guardian Council, cannot be binding. In the event the question is related to the intervention of the president in executive activities (as was declared in the prime minister's statement in parliament), people who are put in charge of investigating an executive matter by the president are assuredly to be considered acting through direct intervention on his part, and this intervention clearly seems to be a categorically legal matter - in Principle 60, bearing on the modus operandi of the executive power; in Principle 116, bearing on the responsibility of the office of the head of the executive power; in Principle 122, bearing on the responsibility of the president vis-a-vis the nation within the limits of his powers and duties; and in Subsection Five of Principle 110, regarding matters of his termination. It is to be taken for granted that this right is the particular characteristic of the president and cannot be conferred on others. However, in order to put this disinclined duty into practice, (in the words of the prime minister), the president will be obliged to use employees and consultants, and therefore, if the opinion expressed by the Guardian Council regarding the intervention of employees and consultants of the office of the president is directly and essentially through the council itself, the matter is self-evident, and it is if with respect to the position of the presidency as the highest official position in the country following that of the leader, and that of someone who has the responsibility for carrying out the constitution and organizing relations among the three powers and heading up the executive power, that cannot be justified, in view of the principle on the responsibility of this official.

Therefore, on analogous matters, perhaps it would be better if the Guardian Council based its future expressions of views on one of its four functions as stated in the constitution and, just as reliance was made on the ratifications of the Islamic Consultative Council with respect to the non-applicability of legal drafts of the Accounting Bureau and the Department of the Voice and Face of the Islamic Republic, they should also bring the principles which have been interpreted into the introductions to responses and the statements of opinions on interpretive matters, so that should

also bring the principles which have been interpreted into the introductions to responses and the statements of opinions on interpretive matters, so that that not create ambiguity.

Let us add that precision in this council's views can play a basic role in codifying and organizing the basic rights of our people; for this reason, we have given ourselves the right to place the abovementioned views in connection with this important role before the opinions of the honored members of the council and other authorities.

11887

CSO: 4906

PRESSING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AIRED

Shortage of Wheat

Tehran RANJBAR in Persian 30 Dec 80 p 5

Excerpt Behzad Nabavi, the government spokesman, declared that the government has imported about 1.8 million tons of wheat from abroad this year. Last year, that is, the first year of life of the government of the Islamic Republic, Iran did not even import 1 kilogram of wheat! How has it been that in just the course of a year the traditions of "his imperial highness" have been revived and we have been compelled to import this amount of wheat in order to meet the primary needs of the people? Wasn't the nation's agriculture to be reviewed, and weren't we to attain self-sufficiency? Didn't the emam give the order that wheat was to be planted everywhere and so on? So then how did it happen that the reserves in the silos suddenly reached bottom? Has the production level dropped? Weren't the farmers and wheat growers prepared to sell their crop to the government? Or was it both, along with other factors?

Last summer, the general chairman of the Central Bank declared that this year in the Kermanshah area, where it has purchased 7,000 tons of wheat from farmers last year, it could purchase only 1,000 tons of wheat! It is clear that the farmers and wheat growers have not despaired of cultivating wheat, at least not to this degree; rather, this matter at least shows the growth of their lack of confidence in the government. First of all, the government has not set a suitable purchase price for wheat, and we in RANJBAR at the same time have repeatedly written about this mistaken policy of the government's. Second, the increase and expansion of instability and the lack of security in the society, the lack of a clear economic program and indifference to solution of the problem of the peasants, in particular the land problem, have all joined in strengthening the wheat growers' incentives for storing their wheat or selling it on the free market. Of course these storers are not hoarders; rather, most of them are impoverished farmers who, because of the chaotic conditions of the country, have no confidence or guarantee that if they sell their wheat to the government today they will at least have sustenance to keep themselves alive during the tumultuous morrow of the country.

At the same time, the lack of clarity in the ownership situation of much of the land under cultivation, and the extreme shortage in seeds and other means of production, have caused the farmers to reduce the pursuit of their activities, since it is not

intelligent to sow crops on land which it is not known will be in whose possession the next day, to spend money to buy seeds at a price above a reasonable sales price, and so forth.

In the time of the temporary government, when the minister of agriculture, in the words of the doctrinaire religious people, was "feudalist" (whether that is true or false is their matter), at least the country's agriculture did not regress; but why have "genuine" people opposed to "step by step" [measures] brought the nation's agriculture to this state? Why isn't there still, even today, not even a minimum program for the economic state of the country? More important than that, why aren't the gentlemen basically even thinking at least of settling out a minimum program? If we imported 1.8 million tons of wheat this year, if the present state continues, next year this figure will certainly be at least two or three times greater.

What lies at the center of the nation's agricultural questions is the resolution of the land problem in favor of the broad masses of peasants who have little or no land. We must pave the way as much as possible for the growth of the productive forces in the rural areas of our nation. If we note that the relative vigor in the first year of the emergence of the Islamic Republic basically was automatic and resulted from the collapse of many restrictions and fetters in the productive relations which the rule by the hirelings of imperialism had imposed upon our country, we can realize that the authorities of the Islamic Republic have taken many shortcuts and have committed many acts of carelessness, and do not imagine either that they will cease to be obstinate so quickly. They are so preoccupied with internal quarrels that you would think there basically is no issue by the name of the peasants, or, more important, no issue by the name of the country's economic structure, and you would think that one could solve them all with slogans and citations from the Koran and the emams without having to take the least step.

#### Disadvantages of Nationalized Foreign Trade

Tehran NAHIB-E AZADI in Persian 31 Dec 80 p 1, 3

[Text] In the context of the current constitution, in which the principle that capital is owned by God has not been accepted - in other words, the economic principles of this law allow a quasi-capitalist system for the Iranian economy - nationalizing foreign trade, like nationalizing banks and nationalizing big factories, not only will not eliminate exploitation in the existing economy of Iran, but will, by substituting the exploitation, intensify it.

It is only after supplementary condification of the constitution, in whose economic principles the principle that God owns the means of production has been implanted, that such a final nationalization can be comprehended. Nationalizing foreign trade in the context of the current constitution, which establishes a quasi-capitalist system in Iran, is the implementation of a socialist act within a capitalist system, which is tantamount to our taking the gear out of the system of a wrist watch and putting it into the system of a wall clock. Of course such an act will cause the clock to stop functioning. In the quasi-capitalist system dominant in Iran, which has been affirmed in the constitution, the nationalization of foreign trade will also cause unlimited damage to the economy, and very likely will also lead to recess-

sion and breakdown. In addition, nationalizing foreign trade in circumstances where the private ownership of capital is considered to be respected will result in the emergence of a black market, and a great bureaucracy will have to be mobilized to combat it and still will not reach the desired results. In this black market, the capitalist will import consumer or non-consumer goods which are not on the government import list by smuggling out non-monetary capital such as jewelry and the like and will sell them in family and other shops and contraband markets at several times their price, and thus today's merchants will then multiply several times over. In a world where weapons are bought and sold on the black market, is it possible to prevent the entry of luxury American goods into a black market whose customers are rich people and whose merchants are capitalists?

Many times during the codification and ratification of the constitution we cried out that its economic principles were unscientific and exploitative, and therefore unislamic, and so today we conclude that it is the basic deficiency of the constitution that it has ratified the principle of nationalization of foreign trade without ratifying the principle that capital is the property of God alongside that. Therefore one can say that the nationalization of foreign trade must be postponed until the supplementary codification of the constitution, and every day that passes without ratification on the supplement to the constitution and establishment of the principle of ownership by God in Iran, we will witness mounting exploitation by capitalists of the deprived persons of the society and the intensification of economic contradictions and disruptions in the country.

### The Losses

Nationalization, in the conditions of today's capitalist economy in Iran, is harmful for three reasons:

1. It increases exploitation.
2. It causes recession in the economic system.
3. It creates a black market.

The reader may get the notion that if the government did not nationalize foreign trade that would cause exploitative merchants also to bleed the nation through foreign trade. In response one must say that if foreign trade is nationalized and if the economic system also remains capitalist, exploitation by capitalists will shift from foreign trade to other fields including the black market, and there will be no possibility for the government to fight against the black market in conditions of freedom of economic activity, that is, in the quasi-capitalist system.

### Matters To Be Noted

In the addendum to the constitution, it is necessary that the economic principles take note of the following matters:

1. Capital and the means of production should include the principle that ownership is God's, that is, that ownership of it be placed at the disposal of the council

of reference and that the right to use the means of production be delegated to the Islamic government under the supervision of this council, which will consist of Islamic jurists and specialists in all scientific fields.

2. Determination of the prices of goods must be set not by the mechanism of the market but in accordance with a just price, by the government.

3. Regarding wages, the mechanism of supply and demand must also be put to the side and the link between wages must be transferred to the link between work and sustenance.

4. Taxes, which are Western-style government revenues, should be put to the side and the taking of tithes from production as government revenue should be permitted.

5. Income and expenditures in the banking system should be changed and all forms of usury by any name, such as rewards, interest and so forth, should be eliminated from the system of the credit treasury.

Of course one should also refer to my recommendations regarding the economic principle of the constitution, which total 40 and were detailed in last year's newspapers. In any event, the fault lies with the constitution; nationalization of foreign trade will not only not eliminate exploitation through this constitution -- it will add to it.

#### Workers Hurt by Inflation

Tehran ETTEHAD in Persian 30 Dec 80 p 6

[Text] Rice at 24 tomans per kilogram, meat at 40 to 50 tomans per kilogram, potatoes at 6 tomans, cheese at 24 tomans per kilogram -- every day the workers and toiling people see their pockets getting emptier in confronting these crushing prices, and inflation in everything is increasingly, with every breath, drawing the lives of the toilers into its vortex like an unruly fire. The passage of time has made it more and more clear that one must not view the problem of inflation in a perfunctory manner. If anyone believed up to yesterday that it would be possible to prevent inflation through advice and counsel to big merchants and warnings to small merchants, today this notion does not have very many adherents. One can see evidence that be-speaks a more realistic approach toward the problem of inflation. The responsible officials have truly realized that the struggle against inflation is not separate from the struggle against the merchants, hoarders and agents linked to the market. The same people who have the pulse of the market in their power increase and reduce the volume of supply of goods, create artificial shortages, and increase prices in a sudden fashion. Let us see what Mr Nurbakhsh, the general assistant of the Ministry of Economic and Financial Affairs, has said in this regard: "Prices have risen mostly as a result of profiteering and hoarding, and the government is considering placing essential commodities at the disposal of the people as far as possible at an appropriate price as well as conducting full surveillance over their just distribution. For this reason it has implemented a plan for the short term to ration essential materials and commodities; however, over the long term, the government will move forward to regulate and program the market."

Let us place Mr Nurbakhsh's statements alongside the point that the government is intending to assume provision of primary materials for industries and factories by itself, and let us also take stock of the fact that the Islamic Consultative Council, in the course of a plan, has assigned the government to present parliament a bill on a law to nationalize foreign trade in a maximum of 3 months. In this event, a hopeful perspective on solving the problem of inflation will open up before us. However, until this perspective is realized, and foreign trade and internal distribution are concentrated in the hands of the government, other measures can be carried out.

First, one must behave with the utmost possible severity with people who hoard goods. Then greater attention and importance should be attributed to the distribution of coupons and goods to workers in areas where they live because of large populations, the paucity of centers for the distribution of goods, and the small amount of free time workers have to stand in line. In order to eliminate this deficiency, it is possible to assign the distribution of rationed goods to factory cooperative companies. If this is done, several targets will be struck with one arrow -- first, the cooperative companies in the factories will be strengthened, second, because of the abundance of societies for workers' families, the length of lines and congestion in front of private shops will be reduced, and third, because of the supervision of workers and their organizations (council and union), the distribution process will be organized in a more suitable fashion. Another job which must be carried out is to increase the number of goods which are included in the ration plan, because we have observed that capitalists, through monopoly control of the market, create a problem every day. One must remove this weapon from their hands.

We hope that officials will take efforts to carry out the above programs as quickly as possible.

#### Financial Crisis, Need for a Loan

Tehran OMMAT in Persian 29 Dec 80 p 1, 10

Excerpt The economic boycott, the temporary cessation of oil sales, and the problems arising from the war have created serious financial problems for the government, and sabotage by capitalists and people involved in the market of hoarding and commerce has also added to these problems. The survival of former relations in the economy, at a time when the former political system has changed, has itself created a kind of contradiction which arises from the imbalance between the economic and political systems.

The financial problems, hardships and crises following every revolution and in wartime are natural matters and there is no way to avoid them; what is important is the way and manner of confronting them. Procedures for confronting such "problems and obstacles" which are not basic are the roots of the emergence of people like the al-Sadats. Cautious confrontation intermixed with compliance, permissiveness and the failure to adopt revolutionary methods and techniques in such times creates a swamp in its wake which, when one sets one's hands and feet in it, causes one to sink down further into it. Imperialism always directs its blows at these very points; the renewed influence of imperialism will not come at one time -- it snatches posi-

tions step by step and fortress by fortress, advances, and implants its sucking hoses in the political and economic dimensions of society; economic dependence creates political and cultural dependence in its wake. The struggle against imperialism and its phenomena will not be effective if it does not include all the political, economic and social dimensions of the renewed influence of imperialism, especially in a country where it has preserved its material and mental fields. One cannot investigate the fiscal crisis of the government in the current situation apart from the fiscal policies taken in the past up to now; the roots of the current crisis are automatically attached to the liberal politicians who were in control of the temporary government. The liberals are also trying, by implanting the financial conditions of 1978-9 - when the country was in the grip of a severe economic crisis and ensnared in war, and unemployment, strikes and problems arising from the civil war created an exceptional drop in the budget and the fiscal situation - to bring about their brilliant agenda by making comparisons with the financial situation of the government in 1979-80 (when the government was in the hands of the liberals) and 1980-81 (when it was placed in the account of the current government) and as a consequence establish the superiority of their economic policies and fiscal programs and provide the means for deceiving the masses, whereas it is clearly apparent that establishing the financial situation of 1978-79, when the government was burdened with severe disruptions, in order to make a comparison with the financial situation of 1979-80, is nothing more than a fraud, and these devious patch jobs will not be of any use in establishing the superiority of government by the liberals. If the current government also wants to solve its fiscal problems by using and depending on imperialist circles, it will ultimately be following in the footsteps in which it will be sinking deeper by the moment.

The probable receipt of sustenance through the government's request of a loan from the International Monetary Fund, an organization whose total control is in the hands of America, if it takes place, is, in our view, a deviationist measure which corresponds neither with doctrinal criteria, the revolution, or the demands of our combative people, and it is up to the doctrinal-revolutionary forces, and all elements believing in the revolution, representatives of parliament, and revolutionary structures, to stand up to this measure, if it is likely to assume the form of an accomplished fact, by exposing the dependent nature of the International Monetary Fund. The revolutionary government, whose backing is the masses of the millions, will have no need for loans from imperialist circles. Decisive revolutionary measures and a revolutionary confrontation with issues such as the system of internal distribution, elimination of the hands of middlemen, reliance on the non-oil economy, breakdown of the land among toilers and peasants, their technical and fiscal protection and insurance, maximum connection and closeness with friendly, fraternal, anti-imperialist countries, and another revolutionary policy in the economic and financial fields can put an end to the financial crisis. Our people have shown time and again that they can face problems, can bear hardships, and will not accept submission to or accommodation with imperialism. This time, also, they will not accept the disgrace of asking for loans from the Imperialist Monetary Fund.

11887

CSO: 4906

U.S. NAVAL PRESENCE IN PERSIAN GULF ATTACKED

Baghdad Al-'IRAQ in Arabic 11 Feb 81 p 2

[Article: "Conducting Gunboat Diplomacy in the Persian Gulf"]

[Text] With the beginning of the eighties the international situation began to head toward a crisis, and the blame for this lies upon the strength of imperialist aggression.

The United States plays the main role in this, which it has manifested by new and extensive armament programs and establishing military bases in areas lying thousands of miles beyond the borders of the United States—including bases in the Middle East, the Indian Ocean and the Rapid Deployment Forces which are instruments of military intervention.

More than 30 American military vessels of various classes are presently intruding upon the waters of the Persian Gulf. They carry thousands of marines and aircraft capable of carrying nuclear weapons, and represent the greatest American naval force seen in this region since the end of the war.

In an attempt to exonerate its aggressive policy in this region the American administration points to what it calls "oil interests" for the United States and the other Western countries.

It is true that the Persian Gulf is one of the richest oil regions in the world, as it contains 50 billion tons of petroleum making up more than 60 percent of the oil resources in the non-socialist world. In 1979 for instance, it produced more than a billion tons of oil and exported about 935 million tons of this to the industrially developed capitalist countries. Tens of countries depend upon oil supplies coming from the Persian Gulf, but the message of the American imperialists pointing to the "dangers" that threaten these supplies are without basis. Rather the truth is that the United States itself threatens the nations of the Persian Gulf with direct military intervention.

As is well-known, the American empire lost many of its sites in the Gulf area due to the rise of the Arab national liberation movement. So Washington is striving to strengthen its precarious positions in this strategic area by increasing its military presence there. This becomes very clear in the American administration's announcement making the Gulf a "region of American interests" and then making open statements of its intention of direct intervention to "defend" these interests—without regard to the desires of the region.

In spite of the fact that the imperialistic monopolies lost most of their oil concessions in the Persian Gulf nations, they still maintain large interests there. At this time they realize enormous profits from the refining, shipment and sale of petroleum. According to the experts' statistics, profits of the main American oil companies operating in the Gulf rose in 1979 by 71 percent from profits in 1978. As an example, the revenues of Exxon company, the largest American company operating in the region, tripled during this same period, rising from \$563 million to \$1,504 million. In general, some experts estimate the profits of the large Western oil monopolies in 1979 at \$14 billion.

"Petro dollars" were used to exert pressure upon developing nations, especially those with progressive systems. Iran, for instance, was transformed into a spearhead directed against those countries opposed to colonization, not just in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf, but also in the neighboring regions.

Advanced military equipment, especially American weapons, played an important role in imposing Washington's new colonial policies. Iran sent a shopping list for American weapons and in 1976 the official military budget for Iran amounted to \$7.6 billion, and at that time total military expenses totalled \$9.5 billion, some 20 percent of the gross national product. Over the following years military expenditures for Iran surpassed \$10 billion.

Iran purchased yearly between US \$3 and \$4 billion worth of weapons from the West, equaling 27 percent of its total imports. In the period of 1970 to 1977 Iran spent about \$18 billion for American weapons alone.

At the end of the eighties, Carter announced that the Persian Gulf had "become a vital interest of the United States." This statement infers that the nations of this region do not have the right to act freely with its special natural wealth, and that in the case of a stoppage of oil supplies Washington will resort to the use of force.

Then Carter said, "We have begun to increase our capability to dispatch military forces to the Gulf region and we are continuing to study the possibilities of operating more military facilities in the region. We have strengthened our naval presence in the Indian Ocean and our Rapid Deployment Forces can be used to support friendly governments in the Gulf."

In other words, the American imperialists do not recognize the right of the oil producing countries in the Persian Gulf to use their oil as they see fit except with the permission of Washington. It is clear from Carter's statements that the policy of dictation which is followed by the American oil monopolies must be supported by the "Rapid Deployment Forces"—a large military intervention unit composed of more than 100,000 officers and soldiers backed by the entire American air and naval forces. The American press mentioned that the Pentagon plans to keep a large naval force in the Persian Gulf and the Arab part of the Indian Ocean for an "undetermined period" and to send "base" ships with heavy weapons there.

At the beginning of March 1980, based upon these plans, the American fleet of amphibious assault vessels, carrying a battalion of marines, tanks and artillery, began to head towards the Arabian Ocean. Then this fleet was reinforced by a number of aircraft carriers and supply ships. In July of 1980 another group of amphibious assault vessels was added, headed by the aircraft carrier "Guadalcanal" with a battalion of marines aboard.

The American scholar, Professor James Petras, said that, "The United States and elements friendly towards Israel will attempt direct military intervention to regain control over certain strategic points." Petras went on to say that this means that Washington will continue to "support Israeli policy (with the assistance of Egypt) of military occupation of strategic areas in the Middle East, neutralize the 'enemy' through harassment, and make preparations for long term military occupation of regions having economic and strategic importance."

In this way, those calling for a new colonization have come to the conclusion that direct military occupation alone can preserve their strategic interests in the Persian Gulf; but it is not possible for the people of the region to accept this.

9785  
CSO: 4802

U.S. ZIONIST INTERESTS SAID TO BE INEXTRICABLY INTEGRATED

Baghdad Al-'IRAQ in Arabic 11 Feb 81 p 2

[Article by Latif Musa: "Who Expects Gold from the Coal Merchant?"]

[Text] Reagan's latest statements supporting Zionism and hostile to the Palestinian Liberation Organization stirred the anger of some of the zealous members of the Palestinian cause—as if they were expecting Reagan to launch a war against Zionism, but instead attacked the Palestinian Liberation Organization!

Reagan did not depart from the official stance of the United States. It is not within the capacity of America itself to destroy its philosophy or ideology as an imperialist country bound as a member of international Zionism, or to abandon Zionism which is basically its legitimate child in its latest stages, in order to support the cause of the Palestinian people.

America's abandoning Zionism under any president, which is an impossibility, would mean divorce between Zionism and American imperialism. This would not come about due to the interposition and historical intermarriage of the two, and the existing unity of their interests and ambitions. For Zionism serves the capitalist economy in America or, more appropriately, guides it.

The existing system in America and its environment is completely conditioned to Zionist airs, or rather it is the climate through which Zionism is able to take root in America and begin from there to build its most important and significant base in the Arab world.

The capitalist system in America was based upon and reliant upon the power and influence of the Zionist economy. Therefore it became impossible to separate either one from the other because they both complement each other. Any deterioration in the capitalist system in America means harm to Zionist interests, and vice versa. As for the importance of Zionism and its significance in the future of the American presence in the Middle East and the Arab world itself, this is no less important than Zionist support of the American capitalist system within America itself. It guards its interests closely in addition to making itself bound in destiny with America.

How can Reagan abandon American interests as embodied in Zionism and arouse the feelings of Zionists in America, who participate directly in shaping American policy and creating its international decisions?

Reagan knows in advance, as did he who sat in the president's chair before him, that any Zionist retreat from its political and military viewpoints would be a victory for the Palestinian cause and subsequently a signal for liberation and unity. America does not want to see any sign of victory in the Arab world because that would create the basis for revolution and a struggle for unity. Since the Arab world is a strategic area, how can America be at rest or work at creating the requirements of its unity and independence, contrasting its existence and ambitions.

America sees in the liberation and unity of the Arab people what it sees in other peoples--a danger to its interests and ambitions. The basic instrument for its conspiracy against the Arabs and to exert pressure upon them is Zionism--directly. Of course it has other means to employ indirectly. However, Zionism remains the weapon upon which it relies because it is its creation and therefore a possession for America. America will simply not surrender this without a struggle against her. As America plots against the Arab nation, its ally, Zionism, continues in its role as fine as can be. In addition to its open role in launching wars of aggression against the Arab nation, Zionism accomplishes what the conditions would not permit America to do directly. For it makes war with all force against the Arabs, diverting them from their cause and weakening their historical role. America, which announced its neutrality in the Iran-Iraq war (which is impossible), prodded Zionism in one form or another to supply the Persian system with arms and materiel, seeking to kill several birds with one stone. In one aspect America is selling off its weapons and realizing a profit. In another aspect, it conveniently does not want Iran to surrender to the accomplished fact in fear that all the doors to Iran will be closed in its face. America also aims from behind this to lengthen the war in order to divert Iraq from carrying out its national role, and to arrange the situation in Iran once again to suit its interests. All this is happening while America is neutral and maintaining its standing with others!! Was the price for the release of the hostages the neutrality of America? Zionism finances weapons for the Persians and these weapons are from America. Is this neutrality?

Consequently, under the Reagan presidency America continues to conspire against the Arabs here and there, in one form or another and directly or indirectly. But its methods, instruments and goals have become precisely known. It should be known to all that we should not find unusual or be surprised by her new and old positions. If we maintain the true picture of America under any president we would be fully aware that the coal merchant does not produce gold.

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## WEST BANK, GAZA PRESS COUNTERS CENSORSHIP

Beirut MONDAY MORNING in English 9-15 Feb 81 pp 40-48

[Article by Michael Precker]

(Text)

The shuttle runs three times a night. From a dingy basement office in East Jerusalem, the "al-Fajr" messenger drives to the Israeli government press office building on the western side of the city with two copies of every item the newspaper hopes to publish the following day.

There, Israeli military censors read the stories, stamping each page "ushar" (approved) or "nifsal" (censored), crossing out or circling each banned item. A little after midnight, the young Arab driver returns with the last batch of material screened by the censor, and news editor Abu-Ziyyad can get on with putting together the paper.

"We have problems every night," he says.

Usually, the eight-page *al-Fajr* submits enough copy for censorship to fill 12 pages, and most of the time enough is approved to fill the paper. If not, Abu-Ziyyad reaches into a drawer — "we call it the Frigidaire" — and pulls out a feature on health service, a backgrounder on El Salvador or a similarly innocuous story. "Just so we fill the space," he says. "We're not allowed to show any sign that we have been censored."

When the daily front-page editorial is cut, however, *al-Fajr* substitutes the simple headline, "Na'tazer" (sorry). "The readers get the hint," Abu-Ziyyad says.

It may not always be easy, but three Arabic-language dailies hit the streets each morning in Jerusalem, Gaza and the West Bank — one of the most tangible signs of Palestinian resistance to Israel's 13-1/2-year occupation. Despite a tenuous existence under Israeli rule, Palestinian journalism is a world fraught with irony, contradictions, rivalries, danger and above all, politics.

## RESISTANCE

"Words are the only means we have to struggle against the occupation, to strengthen the position of the national movement," says *al-Fajr* Editor Marmoun Sayyed, one of three nationalist editors confined by the military government to their West Bank hometowns.

The three daily newspapers, all published in East Jerusalem, are regarded as the most influential periodicals in the occupied territories: "al-Quds" ("The Holy," the Arabic name for Jerusalem), "al-Shaab"

("the People") and *al-Fajr* ("the Dawn"). All three papers profess to follow a Palestinian nationalist line, but analysts outline differences, regarding *al-Quds* as more moderate and pro-Jordanian and the other two as staunch supporters of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Another half-dozen or so periodicals are published in Jerusalem, including the communist weekly *al-Taliya* (the Pioneer), the weekly magazine *al-Shira'a* (the Sail) and two monthly literary journals. Gaza has several non-daily journals, while inside Israel, the Communist Party publishes the biweekly *al-Ittihad* (Unity), which is not permitted in the occupied territories.

Until 1965, four newspapers were published in East Jerusalem, under Jordanian rule. The Jordanian government consolidated them into two and moved one to Amman, leaving "*al-Jihad*" ("the Holy War") as East Jerusalem's sole daily until the 1967 war.

*Al-Jihad* did not reappear after Israel captured the city and for more than a year the Israeli government-sponsored "*al-Anba'*" ("the News") was the only Arabic paper available. Then Mahmoud Abu-Zuluf bought out his partners from *al-Jihad* and received a license to begin publishing *al-Quds*. *Al-Fajr* and *al-Jihad* started several years later as weeklies, before becoming dailies.

#### FIGURES

Though the figures are disputed, *al-Quds* is acknowledged to be the largest paper. Abu Zuluf claims a circulation of 25,000, while his rivals say he sells barely half that number. *Al-Fajr*'s circulation is put at about 10,000, *al-Shaab*'s slightly less. Of the rest, *al-Shira'a*, a magazine containing social and political news, distributes about 5,000 copies and *al-Taliya* 3,000, about three-fourths of them free.

The nationalist editors unapologetically agree that Palestinian poli-

tics take precedence over journalistic tenets like fairness and objectivity. Before the 1976 West Bank municipal elections, *al-Fajr* gave steady front-page coverage to the nationalist candidates who subsequently ousted the older, more conservative administrations in most cities. The conservatives, most of whom supported Jordan's King Hussein, were banished from the paper.

"You can't be neutral when you are under occupation," Sayyed says. "I don't believe there are any objective papers or radio stations. As people under occupation, we have many papers and radio stations against our aspirations. There is no way for our nationalist paper to stand aside and let other parties affect public opinion."

Similarly, *al-Fajr* nowadays gives scant coverage to the American-sponsored autonomy talks, which are condemned by Palestinian nationalists. "You have to take into consideration the interests of your readers, and nobody cares about it," Sayyed says. "If autonomy is enforced it will be against us. So if we run it at all, it's a very small thing."

Is that good journalism? Sayyed smiles sarcastically and raises his hand. "I promise," he says, "in our own Palestinian state, we'll be objective."

The papers sometimes run incomplete or unconfirmed stories. *Al-Taliya* Editor Bashir Barghouti says *al-Quds* recently reported that he plans to challenge Ramallah Mayor Kerim Khalaf in the next elections. Several months ago *al-Fajr* came out with the dubious scoop that Pope John Paul II would soon come to Jerusalem and stay here until Israeli forces withdraw from the city.

Nevertheless, the newspapers have an unmatched network of correspondents throughout the West Bank and Gaza and are monitored increasingly closely by both Israeli and foreign journalists.

The editors consider helping outsiders cover the occupied territories — and thereby publicizing the Palestinian issue — one of their most important tasks. Because of censorship, says al-Shaab Editor Akram Haniya, "sometimes it seems like we're working only for the Israeli press and the foreign correspondents. But I do it for the national cause."

#### PLO

Though the nationalist papers usually echo PLO thinking, the editors deny they receive instructions from Palestinian leadership in Beirut. "There is no need," Sayyed says. "All of us are standing on the same ground. We read about the activities of the PLO in the international arena. The positions are the same. The ideology is the same. As a Palestinian journalist, you can't help but know what's going on."

Some of the news in the Palestinian press gets there in a round-about way: via the Israeli media. Last year then-Defense Minister Ezer Weizman ruled that censors could not cut items that already appeared in the Hebrew press. So many stories in the East Jerusalem papers quote Israeli sources, and it's no mere coincidence.

"I get a story from the West Bank and send it to the censor, who censors it," Abu-Ziyyad says. "So I call a reporter from 'Davar' or 'Haaretz' (Tel Aviv's main morning papers) and give it to them and they print it. Next day I write the same story, only saying it's according to Davar or Haaretz. Usually it gets in."

One Israeli official, commenting on the situation, says, "The game has rules. That is one of the rules."

#### RIDICULOUS

Sayyed fails to see the humor: "It's ridiculous. It affects the credibility of our paper among our readers. They can't understand why we can't publish stories the same day, why we have to wait until the story is published in Israel. We are very saddened. It's ridiculous to have to come out with news about China or Japan while you can't publish news about your own land."

On a recent night, a French interview with Yasir Arafat that had been slated as al-Fajr's lead story was censored, replaced at the top by the Islamic summit meeting in Taef. Other front-page stories included allegations that Israeli soldiers beat a Palestinian youth (reprinted from an Israeli paper), Katyusha rockets fired into northern Israel, a Palestinian cultural event in Beirut, Israel's plan to build a canal from the Mediterranean to the Dead Sea, and an editorial on the Taef summit.

Among items cut from the issue were an advertisement supporting the West Bank teachers' strike, a letter to the military governor protesting new building restrictions in the Jenin area, predictions by a PLO official that Israel will attack South Lebanon next summer, and a statement by Sheikh Rajib Tamimi, the Hebron religious leader exiled by the Israelis last year.

The Arabic newspapers generally are allowed to advocate total Israeli withdrawal to the 1967 borders and establishment of an independent state under the PLO. What they cannot do, in news or editorial columns, is call for the return of the Palestinians to their pre-1948 homes in Jaffa or Haifa. That, to the Israelis, amounts to endorsing the destruction of the Jewish state, a security offense under Israeli law.

A chief complaint about censorship is its inconsistency. "The censors aren't professional," says Abu-Ziyyad. "They are afraid to make decisions. It's better to cross it out than to take a chance."

#### MOOD

Sayyed adds, "A lot depends on the censor's mood that night. If he has a date later or he's watching TV, he isn't so stiff."

Israeli sources familiar with the censor's office acknowledge that standards differ depending on the place and situation.

"We check who are the readers of each item and what is the impact in each area," one source said. "We have to check the situation in the areas. On days when there are demonstrations or shootings, we have

to be much more cautious because something might add fuel to the fire."

Ironically, Abu-Ziyyad saves the censor a lot of work. "We do the first censoring," he says. "We take out many things we know may cause problems. Why should I waste my time and the press time, provoke the censor and give him a reason to cut everything? So I take a story, submit the half I think is okay, and half of the half is cut out. So I get something."

Despite the restrictions, Israel insists the Palestinian journalists enjoy more freedom than many of their Arab counterparts elsewhere. Officials, flatly asserting that the newspapers are funded by the PLO, make no apologies for the harsh measures.

"Of course we don't treat them

the same as our own papers," says a senior aide to Prime Minister Menachem Begin who barred use of his name. "They're enemy aliens. We have a censor so they can't say, 'Rah rah PLO' when children get murdered. But even with the double standard, they have it a thousand percent better than anywhere else in the Arab world."

"Anywhere else in the Arab world no one can say a word about the government. Look at what they get away with here. The only places in the world where there is a free Arab press are London, South America and East Jerusalem."

#### JORDAN

Underscoring the Israeli argument is the fact that Jordan, not Israel, blocks the newspapers from being

shipped to Amman, where they could be distributed easily to Palestinians throughout the Arab world. The Jordanian censor would insist on screening every issue, banning the entire paper if a single item were unacceptable. Rather than submit to this daily vexation, the papers forego a potentially lucrative market.

Still, the editors say they believe the papers eventually reach most Arab foreign ministries. "We hear sometimes that the Saudis or Kuwaitis aren't satisfied with certain editorials," Sayyed says.

Gaza has no daily newspaper of its own, though Mayor Rashid al-Shawa has obtained a license to operate one. He is reportedly waiting for financing and equipment to begin publishing.

*Al-Sharuk* (the Sunrise) appears in Gaza twice a month, with a circulation of about 3,500. Editor Mohammed Khass says the paper supports the PLO but focuses mainly on non-political issues like development, health and education. The monthly *al-Ulum* (Knowledge), published by Gaza lawyer Zuhair Rais, deals with cultural, social and literary topics, and distributes only about 1,000 copies.

Rais also publishes a weekly, *al-Usbou al-Jadid* (the New Week), a 2,500-circulation journal of news and politics distributed in Gaza and the West Bank.

#### ISRAELI

*Al-Ittihad*, the Arabic-language organ of the Israeli Communist Party, publishes two issues a week with a combined circulation of about

20,000. The Haifa-based paper reflects the position of the pro-Moscow Communist Party, which calls for total Israeli withdrawal and a PLO state in the West Bank and Gaza. Editor Emile Habiby says nearly all his readers are Israeli Arabs, since *al-Ittihad* is not permitted in the occupied territories. The Communist Party has a separate newspaper in Hebrew.

*Al-Ittihad* exercises considerably more freedom than the East Jerusalem press, since Israeli newspapers can generally be censored only for military or security reasons. "New Israeli Aggression is Expected," a politically-tinged headline likely to be cut from *al-Fajr* or *al-Shaab*, bannered across *al-Ittihad*'s front page last week.

Habiby says *al-Ittihad* concentrates on news about Israel's Arab

sector, but also prints many reports from the West Bank and Gaza. He says his staff maintains informal contacts with Palestinian journalists from the occupied territories, but has few official ties.

"We don't interfere in their internal affairs," he says. "But in many ways we are struggling the same struggle."

In addition to the censorship, the Arabic press frequently skirmishes with Israeli authorities. The military government periodically warns editors against "incitement," and last June, *al-Fajr* and *al-Shaab* were banned from the West Bank for nearly two weeks. *Al-Taliya* is still prohibited outside Jerusalem.

Since August *al-Fajr*'s Sayyed, *al-Shaab*'s Haniya and *al-Taliya*'s Barghouti have been confined to their home towns of Ramallah and

el-Bireh and prohibited from traveling to their offices in Jerusalem. All three editors are reported to be members of the National Guidance Committee, pledged to the PLO and formed to organize resistance to the occupation. Israel has tried to disband the committee.

#### GANG

The editors — whom Haniya jokingly refers to as the "Gang of Three" — still write for their papers but acknowledge that day-to-day administration is difficult. "I won't put myself as an additional obstacle, so I don't ask them to bring everything here," Sayyed says.

Sayyed, Haniya and Barghouti have appealed to Israel's Supreme Court for permission to travel to Jerusalem eight hours daily to work, but they are pessimistic about the

outcome. The case is due to be heard Feb. 11.

And there is a darker side. The Palestinian editors say they sporadically receive threatening letters and phone calls, which they presume come from Israeli Jewish extremists, warning them to shut down. Last summer bombs exploded near Abu-Zuluf's car in East Jerusalem and at the entrance to al-Fajr. There were no injuries in either incident.

Seven years ago, the founding editor of al-Fajr, Youssef Nasser, disappeared and was presumed murdered in what was likely an inter-Arab vendetta. Al-Fajr, which opposed the pro-Jordanian leanings of the late Sheikh Mahmoud Ali Jaabari, then mayor of Hebron, had run a cartoon depicting Jaabari with a shoe in his mouth.

Soon afterward Nasser disappeared and was never seen again. His friends are convinced he was kidnapped and killed by gangsters in retaliation for the cartoon, but nothing could be proved in court.

Despite their common interests, the Palestinian editors are divided among themselves, with long-standing personal and political quarrels between hard-line nationalists and those leaning toward Jordan. One Israeli official says that when he needs to meet with the various editors, "I call them in one by one so I don't wind up raising too much dust in my office."

#### ABU-ZULUF

Most of the nationalist editors have little to do with Abu-Zuluf, who they believe represents Jordanian interests seeking a return to the pre-1967 situation. "I never shook hands with him," Sayyed said. "Here everything is considered according to political views."

Abu-Zuluf, a newspaperman 30 years who studied at the Columbia School of Journalism in New York, says

AL-QUDS is the only paper turning a profit and derides his competitors. "I'm independent. I'm professional. They're not," he says. By being a good journalist you can see your country better than by being amateur."

Abu-Zuluf talks openly of his rapport with Israeli officials and hopes to receive a loan from the Jerusalem municipality to build his own printing plant. To some, that smacks of cooperation with the detested occupation.

"AL-QUDS cannot be considered a nationalist newspaper. It backs whoever is in power," says Hanna Siniora, another top editor at al-Fajr. "Abu-Zuluf is a man interested in his money, so he has good relations with Israel and Jordan."

Al-Quds also is the only Palestinian newspaper being sold in Egypt under the Israeli-Egyptian normalization agreement. The others refused. "We are against the Camp David accords and we are against the normalization," Siniora says. "If we send the paper, then we are taking part in normalization."

#### ENGLISH

Last April al-Fajr began publishing a weekly edition in English that now distributes about 3,000 copies, including a growing mail circulation overseas. "We want to communicate with the Israeli public," Siniora says. "We want to show that we are not fanatics or extremists, that we want to live side-by-side."

The English al-Fajr currently is defying an Israeli order to remove the words "Palestinian Weekly" from its front-page flag, but the 16-page tabloid suffers least from censorship. Many West Bank items and stridently anti-Israel editorial comments cut from the Arabic press survive the trip to the censor unscathed in the English edition.

"They figure Palestinians don't read it," Sayyed says. "They want to mislead foreigners into thinking the other Arab papers have the same freedom. They don't."

After 10 months of publication, not much communication is taking place. The English al-Fajr is sold in West Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and elsewhere in Israel, but Sayyed figures its readers are mostly intellectuals and leftists. Siniora says Arab youths peddling the paper in Jewish neighborhoods often were harassed, their papers torn up. Undaunted, al-Fajr plans to launch a Hebrew weekly edition in the spring.

Opinions vary on the influence of the newspapers, whose circulations amount to only a small portion of the 1.2 million Palestinians in the occupied territories. "Here most people depend on their ears, on radio and TV," Sayyed says. "Not that many people have a chance to read. Still, the papers reflect the activities of our people."

Barghouti maintains that Israel's actions against the Palestinian press indicate its effectiveness. "There must be something that endangers, or at least doesn't please the Israelis," he says.

So why does Israel allow them to publish at all?

"We believe in a free press to the extent that it's humanly possible," says Begin's aide. "We think it's important that people have the opportunity to state what they believe, as long as it doesn't hurt the security of the state of Israel."

Barghouti sees it differently. "At first they wanted to give the idea they were conducting a liberal policy in the territories," he says. "They didn't think the papers would have much influence. But the national movement became stronger and stronger, and the role of the press became more dangerous to them."

"I think if they can, politically speaking, they will shut the papers down. It would be very difficult, so they are trying to discredit the national newspapers."

In the meantime, wearied by his daily battle with censorship, Abu-Ziyyad nonetheless believes the news always gets through. "They are fooling themselves if they think censorship works," he says. "There are still a million ways to get news. There is PLO radio, Jordanian TV, every Arab country has stations you can get here... There are no secrets in the West Bank." •

#### PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. "The gang of three": Not allowed to go to their Jerusalem offices.
2. Al-Fajr Editor Mamoun Sayyed: Words are our only way to struggle against the occupation.
3. Al-Taliya Editor Bashir Barghout: We sporadically receive threatening letters and phone calls.
4. AL-SHAAB Editor Akram Haniya: Because of censorship, it sometimes seems like we're working only for the foreign correspondents.



"The gang of three" Not allowed to go to their Jerusalem office

Figure 1



Al-Fay Editor Maroun Bayyad. Words are our only way to struggle against the occupation

Figure 2



Al-Talib Editor Bashir Berghout. We sporadically receive threatening letters and phone calls.

Figure 3

CSO: 4820



Al-Shaab Editor Nacim Hanifa. Because of censorship, it sometimes seems like we're working only for the foreign correspondents.

Figure 4

**HAZARDS OF U.S. NUCLEAR PASSAGE IN SUEZ CANAL POINTED OUT**

*Amman AL-RA'Y in Arabic 21 Feb 81 p 22*

[Article by Salah Abd al-Samad in "Behind the News" column: "The Suez Canal and Nuclear Passage"]

[Text] If newsagency reports of secret negotiations between Washington and Cairo to allow American nuclear warships to use the Suez Canal are correct, it means that these negotiations are no longer secret, and that news leaks regarding them are probably deliberate for several purposes. One of these is to create a psychological climate in the region suggesting that the American nuclear umbrella may approach the [Arabian] Gulf and the Red Sea, and that it is in the power of Egypt to assist or resist its arrival by granting or refusing permission to American nuclear vessels to use the Canal.

The disclosure of the negotiations in question raises a new sensitive question, which is: "Is it proper for the Suez Canal to become a nuclear passageway, particularly as the American line of thinking is to make it a nuclear passageway for American vessels only, and to exclude Soviet nuclear submarines, by pressing Egypt to impose 'safety standards' on nuclear passage through the Canal which American vessels would be able to meet, but Soviet submarines would not?"

It is true that American-Egyptian negotiations regarding nuclear passage through the Canal concern the wills of two nations. However, the possible consequences of these negotiations, should the Canal become a passageway of this kind, are issues which can be properly brought up and debated. These include:

1. The opening of the Canal for American nuclear passage would draw the region of the [Arabian] gulf, the Red Sea and the African horn closer to the nuclear struggle between the two superpowers.
2. Egypt's approval of American nuclear passage, along with obstruction of similar Soviet passage, would reopen an international debate on "freedom of navigation" in the Canal.
3. American nuclear passage in the Canal would tilt the strategic balance east of Suez in the interest of the U.S. The Soviet Union is unlikely to overlook such a development, and this might lead Ethiopia, the friend of the Soviet Union to react or to create problems relating to the Nile, Egypt's vital artery.

4. American nuclear passage in the Canal would not be free of nuclear hazards to the Suez Canal and the surrounding region, should any radiation leak for one reason or another from the passing ships. This is a possibility which cannot be ruled out, particularly as such leakage of radiation has taken place within the U.S. itself, inspite of advanced technological precautions taken against it.

5. This issue of nuclear passage might further worsen relations between Egypt and the other Arab countries, because the area which will be drawn closer to the theater of the nuclear struggle is part of the Arab homeland, and because Arab strategy is based on avoiding involvement of the region in any conflict between the two superpowers.

6. The same issue could lead to further division within the non-alignment movement.

There remains one final question to be asked, which is: "What possible benefits could Egypt derive from approving American nuclear passage through the Suez Canal? And would such benefits, if they take the form of loans, grants and weapons, offset the dangers which could result from such passage?"

[On 9 Feb 81, AL-DUSTUR carried in this same column an article attributed to the Soviet Newsagency Novosti titled: "The Nuclear Side of the Camp David Agreement." The article said: "Latest press reports indicate that the Camp David Agreement has a more serious section, namely its nuclear section. The Egyptian President has given the U.S. an exclusive military base in the region of the al-Farafirah oasis to stockpile American nuclear weapons...".

"The planting of American nuclear weapons in Egypt goes hand in hand with the introduction of chemical and germ weapons into Egypt. During the maneuvers which took place in Egypt in December 1980, a unit of the American Nuclear Bio-chemical Company arrived in Egypt as part of the 82nd Paratroop Division. It is not unlikely that this unit stayed in Egypt following the maneuvers, and that it is now actually storing and distributing these dangerous types of weapons in Arab lands..."]

CSO: 4802

**BOUCETTA'S SPEECH BEFORE NONALIGNED CONFERENCE**

Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 16 Feb 81 pp 1-2

[Speech by Foreign Affairs Minister M'Hamed Boucetta: "The Sahara Is a Phony Problem, Artificially Continued in Order to Attack Morocco's Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity"]

[Text] Speech by Mr M'Hamed Boucetta to the Conference of Non-Aligned held in New Delhi. Mr Boucetta underscores need for Movement of Nonaligned to remain faithful to its noble principle. Rabat, 15 February (MAP [MAGHREB-ARAB PRESS AGENCY]). Here is the text of the speech by Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation M'Hamed Boucetta to the ministerial conference of nonaligned countries which has just ended.

Mr Chairman,

I am particularly happy to present to you the sincerest congratulations on the occasion of your election to the office of chairman of our conference. Your lengthy and profound political experience and your high human qualities constitute as many reasons for rejoicing for all of us.

The fact that this conference is being held in your great country, a bastion of wisdom and cultural, philosophical, and spiritual significance, native land of several high points in human thought, contributing enormously to the enrichment of universal civilization, and I am thinking especially here of Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Nehru, founding father of the movement of nonalignment and one of the leaders of the Bandung conference--these are as many good omens for the certain success of our conference which will thus constitute new impetus for our movement, preserving its authenticity and enabling it to attain the noble objectives for which our movement was created.

I would like to take this opportunity to express to the friendly government of India my delegation's sincere thanks for the excellent reception and the generous hospitality extended to us.

I also greatly appreciate the praiseworthy effort which it devoted to the material organization of this historical conference.

I must more particularly render my respects to the eloquent trend-setting speech through which His Excellency Madame Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was kind enough to inaugurate the conference so as to awaken happy memories in all of us. These are memories of the heroic struggle which our peoples had to fight not only to liberate themselves from the yoke of colonialism but also to assume within the framework of international relations a vanguard role in resisting any political or economic dependence, to confront the blocs and alliances, to eliminate the dangers of Cold War, to prevent the misfortunes engendered by wars and violence and to strengthen the chances of peace and security throughout the world.

Our memory in this respect takes us back to the glorious days of Bandung, that historic and decisive meeting which my country had the honor of participating in actively in the presence of the great leader Allal El Fassi, while the Moroccan people were still under the colonial yoke and when our national hero, His Majesty Mohammed V and his family, suffered in their exile at Madagascar, far from their fatherland and their people.

Memory also takes us back to that extremely important event represented by the first summit conference of the movement of nonalignment, held 20 years ago in Belgrade.

As we prepare to celebrate this 20th anniversary, we must learn the proper lessons from it and we must review our behavior, as well as the practices and achievements of our movement since its founding.

In his speech on 8 September 1961 to the Belgrade Conference, thus contributing to the establishment of our movement's foundations, His Majesty Hassan II declared:

"Neutralism and nondependence must not be conceived as a passive attitude. Our neutrality does not signify isolation or indifference with respect to a portion of humanity. On the contrary, it signifies approval of all that is just and true in the field of human thought. This is a dynamic and active neutralism which is only aimed at safeguarding human values and which works only through the strengthening of peace and progress of human beings.

"The peoples represented at this conference have acquired undoubted political and social maturity and are aware of the great danger threatening humanity and refuse to resign themselves to it in a fatal fashion. We are determined to create a climate propitious to peace and to provide new impetus for the idea of cooperation among peoples without distinction as to color, race, or spiritual or ideological orientation."

Our movement has recorded important victories in the field of the liberation of peoples from colonial and foreign rule. From its very first days onward, it acquired by no means negligible political significance within the framework of international relations as a movement with which one must reckon in the universal equilibrium of forces; this is due its original and authentic orientation which consists in resistance against any dependence on one bloc or another and which thus eliminates any justification for the continuation of the Cold War and the reason behind the confrontation between the big powers.

## Intervention and Interference Have the Character of Aggression

The development of the nonalignment movement consequently was behind what we call detente.

The latter of course is neither complete, nor generalized, nor based on a sincere desire to restore law and to refrain from looking for spheres of influence; nevertheless, it was a positive result of the extension and progression of the non-alignment movement, a result which enabled the world to prevent a further aggravation of the dangers of confrontation between the big powers, especially with the accumulation of means of mass destruction in their hands.

Mr Chairman,

While we review the international circumstances under which this ministerial conference of nonaligned countries is being held, we experience a feeling of astonishment and regret regarding the situation of deterioration which characterizes international relations due to the practice of intervention and interference which here and there has taken on alarming aggravation.

We unfortunately discover the persistence of situations of injustice, on the one hand, in the form of colonialism, foreign occupation, racial discrimination, and, on the other hand, in other forms of economic exploitation or efforts aimed at preventing any attempt toward the establishment of a worldwide economic order based on interdependence, solidarity, justice, and equity.

Intervention and interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states in our day has become a widespread practice which has taken on the character of violent aggression against the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of states. In spite of the denunciations and firm condemnations of such practices, those who have pursued them in vain seek to justify themselves not only out of a concern for stability but also under the pretense that they are intervening upon the demand of the country that is the victim of aggression while the aggressor has already made arrangements to establish a puppet regime which will be docile to him.

The nonalignment movement must not allow itself to stand by in the face of such practices. A passive attitude would have the effect of completely paralyzing our movement.

Let us be quite frank toward ourselves. Let us establish the fact that we are experiencing a kind of hands-off attitude and a lack of vigilance. We act as if we were trying to ignore the original role which our movement pledged itself to assume, along with the sacred principles which we had sworn to respect and defend for 20 years.

The main objective for which our movement was created was to face the Cold War, that is to say, the bitter struggle for spheres of influence which characterized relations between the superpowers, to eliminate the harmful effects deriving from that and to defend the independence of peoples and the achievement of their development in an atmosphere devoid of any fear and any political or ideological dependence.

### Oppose Everything That Disunites Us

The unsound behavior which certain states have considered advisable to adopt both in their respective relations with their neighbors and in their international relations in general only served to encourage the big powers in the fight for spheres of influence and to proceed to a real conquest of our movement with a view to depriving it of its originality and independence and to divert it from its essential objective and to create ideological splits which entail the risk of perpetuating the division of the nonalignment movement.

This is precisely the thinking expressed by the late President Josip Broz Tito in a spirit full of responsibility when he addressed to us his historical warning in his speech in Havana in September 1979, and I quote:

"Parallel to the preservation of our policy and the strengthening of our movement, we ran into various difficulties. Some of those are a legacy of the past or the result of different development conditions. Others, which are the consequence of foreign influence and different choices, entail the risk of causing splits in our movement."

And later on he added:

"Our movement has turned toward the key problems of the world today, the problems of peace, security, development, and universal progress. It expresses the fundamental interests of all humanity and not just of one of its parts. We must all assume this responsibility. We must never lose sight of that which we have in common, that which unites us. We must oppose everything that disunites us and we must counter all attempts at the infiltration of foreign interests in our ranks."

It is really deplorable that certain countries of the Third World are copying the methods of the big powers and are seeking hegemony and spheres of influence. Worse still, certain of these countries consciously or unconsciously are in the process of acting for one or the other super power. This can only facilitate the infiltration of the super power in question within the framework of the bitter race between the two opposing camps for strategic positions.

We would have preferred not to mention what is called the issue of the Sahara, this so-called question not being within the purview of the Nonalignment Movement. The southern part of Moroccan territory liberated itself from the yoke of colonialism and once and for all rejoined the mother country, Morocco. But, since certain delegations have considered it necessary to bring it up from various viewpoints, it has become indispensable to reaffirm our viewpoint; this is as a matter of fact a phony problem, maintained artificially in order to attack my country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. This is an attempt which is part of the acts of subversion and destabilization which certain forces seek to foment out of a desire of hegemony and expansionism.

### Sounding the Alarm

The inhabitants of the provinces of the Sahara have already spoken and have determined their destiny through their attachment to their Moroccan nationality. They have reaffirmed this determination to the Committee of Wise Men of the OAU which met in Freetown.

Morocco, which with seriousness and responsibility cooperates in that committee, thinks that this is the proper framework for the examination of this issue. Out of respect for the members of this assembly, we have decided not to dwell too much on these absurdities which are nothing but the repetition of empty slogans and which are not justified by anything, except the desire consciously or unconsciously to serve the designs of hegemonism out of a desire for zones of influence and the creation of trouble-spots.

Mr Chairman,

We consider it necessary to denounce such policies which are not at all in keeping with the purposes and objectives for which our movement was created. We considered it urgent to sound the alarm to announce loud and clear that it is high time for the nonalignment movement to resume its vanguard role and to add other victories to its earlier victories in the field of elimination of all conflicts and wars and the establishment of world peace on solid foundations, guaranteeing all states their rights to liberty, sovereignty, and territorial integrity as well as their right to assure their peoples of development and prosperity.

These purposes and objectives can be achieved only if all members of our movement pledge sincerely to be faithful to our noble principles which the movement has assigned itself, especially the principle of eliminating rivalries over spheres of influence and to put an end to our conflicts within the framework of these rivalries.

Mr President,

Reviewing the achievements of the nonalignment movement in the field of liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke, from racial segregation, and from foreign occupation, we proudly and with satisfaction registered the liberation of the brother people of Zimbabwe and its joining our movement.

I am happy on this occasion to wish the Republic of Sainte-Lucie the very best since this once again proves the universal character of our movement.

#### **Solidarity With Peoples of South Africa and Namibia**

However, we can only be profoundly indignant in view of the continuation of colonial and racist domination in Namibia and South Africa.

Of course, the failure of the last Geneva conference on Namibia does not surprise us. But we are forced to ask ourselves how the international community could have permitted itself still to tolerate such an abnormal situation which sounds a false note in the rhythm of liberation which the world has experienced over the past 20 years.

We must assert here our full solidarity with the heroic people of Namibia and our full readiness to make every effort in every field so that it may exercise its right to independence and liberty and to guarantee the territorial integrity of Namibia.

At the same time we renew our full solidarity with the people of South Africa in its just struggle for the elimination of the abject regime of Apartheid and for the achievement of its liberty and its independence in the framework of its territorial integrity.

#### **The Iraq-Iran Conflict and the Palestinian Problem**

Mr President,

We can only express our great concern and our profound consternation in the face of the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran, both of which are Islamic countries and both of which are members of the Nonalignment Movement.

We deplore the evil consequences of this conflict, the losses of human lives and the destruction of installations, economic infrastructure, and historical monuments.

From the very first day, we issued an urgent appeal to the leaders of both countries to stop the fighting and to start brotherly and responsible negotiations with a view to eliminating all factors that have led to this devastating war and to arrive at a fair and final settlement to this conflict.

Mr President,

The policy of aggression, of establishment of colonies, of expansionism, and of racism practiced cynically by Israel in the Middle East is nothing but the establishment of a diabolical plan for spreading terror and tension in that part of the world with a view to preparing and consolidating foreign domination there. This criminal design has the final objective of depriving the Palestinian people of the exercise of its inalienable right to a return to self-determination and to the establishment of its independent and sovereign state on its own national territory. This same design tends to prevent stability and peace in the Arab countries in that part of the world, thus making it impossible for those countries to devote themselves to the effort of development and progress.

#### **The Islamic Conference Organization and the Afghan Affair**

We cannot repeat often enough the fact that the Palestine issue is at the very heart of the conflict in the Middle East and that the real, just and lasting solution consists in the withdrawal of Israeli occupation forces from Arab and Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem, and the exercise, by the Palestinian people, of its right to establish its own national state, under the direction of the PLO, its sole and legitimate representative.

In this respect I would like to recall the praiseworthy and continued efforts made by another international agency, the famous OCI (Islamic Conference Organization) with respect to which Morocco had the honor of taking the initiative.

The OCI has been working hard to broaden support in favor of the just cause of the Palestinian people and with a view to arriving at a really lasting and overall solution to the problem of the Middle East. It is a special honor for me to mention

here the untiring efforts of His Majesty King Hassan II in his capacity as chairman of the Al-Qods committee, with a view to acquiring a greater understanding and more sympathy, worldwide, in support of the Al-Qods cause in particular and the Palestinian cause in general.

Thus the initiatives of the OCI in reality are only an effort running parallel to the efforts of the nonalignment movement for the triumph of justice, the liberation of land and men, and the primacy of the ideals and great principles for which we fight together.

Among these common principles we have our support for the cause of the Afghan people.

We cannot in effect allow ourselves in silence to pass over what is happening in Afghanistan. We ask and we continue to ask instantaneously for the withdrawal of the armed forces which have invaded that country. We demand a return to the normal situation in Afghanistan through respect for its sovereignty, its independence, its beliefs, and its free choice as a nonaligned state in the real meaning of the word.

Mr Chairman,

The concept of nonalignment, as a positive attitude, can be completed and can have concrete meaning only through a continuous effort aimed at the establishment of a worldwide economic order on the basis of interdependence of destiny and interests on a universal level.

We must furthermore without delay proceed to laying the foundations of close cooperation among all nonaligned countries and the developing countries. It is therefore urgent to give an economic and social content to the struggle of the Nonalignment Movement.

#### To Guarantee the Freedom of the Nonaligned Countries

In this respect, I want to quote the eloquent passages contained in the speech delivered by His Majesty King Hassan II to the first conference of nonaligned countries held in Belgrade in September 1961.

His Majesty said, and I quote:

"Indeed, the nonaligned countries for the most part involve nations that emerged from decolonization. These countries courageously faced the consequences of their liberation and patiently and with perseverance suffered the heaviest burdens in order to be able to exercise their sovereignty. The countries which today are called upon to embrace the principle of nonalignment sometimes may find themselves at the mercy of their former colonial powers. Those same recently liberated countries thus are deprived of all economic aid if they refuse to line up with the policy charted by the former colonizers. This means that, for a country to be nonaligned, it is not enough to be politically free--it must also liberate itself economically and socially.

"To assure this liberty in the economic and social fields, we must therefore base all of our causes and objectives on an active solidarity since the economic and social fields in our day have become the critical foundation for any kind of solidarity."

And His Majesty added further on:

"It is high time for the developed countries to review the behavior they have so far been pursuing in their relations with the developing countries. The former must abandon their egotism in order to permit the latter also to benefit from the assets of the earth and to enjoy the advantages of technology."

It is obvious that the content of these declarations in our day assumes increasingly profound significance. And increasingly authentic significance likewise. These statements directly put the finger on the essence of the problems from which the peoples in the developing countries suffer, countries almost all of which belong to the nonalinement movement. By the same token, they show us the way to salvation: the establishment of objective cooperation between our countries so that our voice may carry further and so that we might first of all, through our own means, achieve our development, our collective self-sufficiency and our economic complementarity. By doing so, we would give the nonalinement concept a positive and objective content, capable of enabling us, on the economic level, to achieve the same outstanding victories which we have been able to win in the field of the liberation of peoples from the colonial yoke.

If we close our ranks, if we remain united in order to tackle our common economic problems, if we devote our efforts to that which unites us, if we discard our differences and our marginal conflicts, we will then be able to regain the respect of our partners in the North-South dialogue and, on the basis of a balance of forces, restore the weight which we need in order to give specific expression to our humanitarian mission. That is the price of the liberation of man from exploitation, from hunger, and from misery and the creation of a more just and more prosperous world.

This is our desire and these are our hopes. We want this ministerial meeting to constitute a new point of departure for the consolidation of the principles of the nonalinement movement and for the attainment of its objectives. Our most ardent wish is to be able to devote--during the seventh summit conference of our movement, which will be held next year in Baghdad--the beneficial results which such a new start will enable us to achieve.

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#### MOROCCAN-SOVIET CIVIL AIR COOPERATION

Rabat L'OPINION in French 9 Feb 81 p 3

[Text] Morocco and the Soviet Union are greatly stepping up their cooperation in all fields. However, the field of civil aviation continues to be neglected and it must be emphasized that cooperation in this sector goes back almost 20 years.

As a matter of fact, the first agreement between the air directorate and the Soviet minister of civil aviation was signed on 27 March 1962. Under the terms of this agreement, aircraft belonging to the Soviet "Aeroflot" airline company can overfly Moroccan territory and land either at Rabat or at Casablanca, especially with respect to aircraft going to Havana, Bamako, Conakry, Lagos, Tripoli, Lima, and other capitals.

The second agreement was signed in September 1973 between "Royal Air Maroc" and "Aeroflot" at Casablanca; this agreement contains numerous provisions on technical support for stopovers between RAM [Royal Air Maroc] and Aeroflot; it also stipulates that the Soviet airline company will, by reciprocity, be the general agent of RAM in the USSR.

Since then, traffic between Rabat and Moscow has grown considerably, currently amounting to almost 10,000 passengers per year, including Moroccan students, Soviet fisherman and technicians working in Morocco as part of the economic and technical cooperation effort between the two countries.

Mr Vorobev, manager of the Soviet company in Morocco, feels that the development of air traffic must go hand in hand with the strengthening of economic and commercial relations which, he said, must experience a new upswing following the signature of the agreements between the two countries in 1977.

Mr Vorobev on the other hand feels that Aeroflot--which carries more than 100 million passengers per year and serves almost 80 countries throughout the world and close to 3,600 Soviet cities and towns, will not spare any effort to develop tourism between the two countries. The rates for groups of tourists as a matter of fact are only one-third of those for the other passengers. Going in both directions, Moscow--Rabat and Rabat--Moscow, the two companies currently carry more than 30 groups of Moroccan and Soviet tourists, a number which is to increase shortly.

The managers of several Moroccan travel agencies have visited Moscow to discuss ways of permitting an increase in tourist exchange with the Inturist company.

Getting back to cooperation between RAM and Aeroflot, it must be noted that the officials of the Soviet company at Rabat are happy over the assistance given by RAM in customs processing which facilitates the dispatching of aircraft and the handling of Soviet crews in transit through Morocco.

After recalling that civil aviation, which was started in February 1923, is participating in all sectors of economic life in the Soviet Union, Mr Vorobev noted that Aeroflot is ready to let the Moroccan airline company have the benefit of its experience in the training of pilots, mechanics, and commercial personnel.

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MOROCCO

BRIEFS

FUEL PRICE INCREASES--Rabat, [illegible in original] February (MAP [MAGHREB-ARAB PRESS AGENCY]). The public is hereby informed that the basic petroleum products sales prices are fixed as follows, effective Thursday, 12 February 1981, at 0000: gasoline, super: 3.95 DH [dirhams] per liter; gasoline, regular: 3.75 DH per liter; petroleum for lamps and gas-oil: 2.10 DH per liter; industrial fuel oil: 1,070 DH per ton; LPG: 2,458.33 DH per ton for loads of 12 kilograms, or 29.50 DH per bottle; 2,550 DH per ton for loads of 3 kilograms or 7.65 DH per bottle; 2,225 DH per ton for gas in bulk. These increases are necessary because of recent crude petroleum price rises and on account of the severe jump in dollar exchange rates, the dollar being the reference currency for crude oil payments. This situation has persuaded the crude petroleum importing countries to increase public prices on petroleum prices. In an effort to preserve the agricultural sector, it was decided not to pass the gas-oil price rise on to the farmers. The methods of implementing this measure will be communicated to the public in a subsequent announcement. Furthermore, the new gas-oil price does not apply to fishermen who continue to get a specific price. [Text] [Casablanca MAROC SOIR in French 12 Feb 81 p 1] 5058

CSO: 4400

SOLAR-POWERED WATERPUMP PLANNED

Khartoum AL-SAHAFAH in Arabic 21 Jan 81 p 10

[Article: "First Solar-Powered Waterpump in the Sudan"]

[Text] The French embassy in Khartoum was the scene of the signing of an agreement on Saturday morning, 17 January 1981, at 11:00. The French Government was represented by its ambassador to Khartoum, Monsieur Hercelou; the Democratic Government of Sudan was represented by 'Audh Ahmad 'Abd al-Salam, director general of the national water board, in the Ministry of Energy. Monsieur Lucian, the French cultural attaché, and officials from the Ministry of Energy and the national water board, attended.

The agreement pertains to the installation of the first solar-powered waterpump in Sudan. The village of Shaykh Bashir, located in the Jabal Awliya' area, west of Khartoum, was selected as a suitable site for installation. The equipment pumps 50 cubic meters of water in the course of a day, in a period ranging from 8 to 10 hours, from a depth of 20 m. It is worth mentioning that the French solar energy agency, known as "KUMS", is the technical authority which will send an expert to participate in the equipment's installation, with the assistance of some Sudanese experts from the Ministry of Energy, the national water board. They are responsible for the technical and installation side. Because of the pump's efficiency, it could become common in various parts of Sudan, making its presence felt by the availability of water suitable for drinking, which has a great deal to do with preventing employment possibilities at the present time. Energy is the obstacle in its path. Frequently, many gasoline-powered pumps are out of commission, due to lack of this kind of energy. This has become a constant obstacle to the growth of much of the resources in a developing country like Sudan.

The French ambassador spoke following the signing of the agreement. He said: "An agreement like this is important for Sudan's progress in the field of solar energy, and the means of making other sources of energy available. I know that many experiments have been conducted in this field in Sudan, and in my opinion, they were unsuccessful. However, in the present situation, because of the course of events, and after the signing of this agreement, they will be successful." Regarding the specifications of this equipment, called a "solar pump," it does not need any other energy, or manual or mechanical control. It requires no maintenance, except to wash the dust from the surface of the shining glass apparatus, every 3 or 4 months. This enables the silicon cells to operate effectively and store the solar energy

completely. Furthermore, the maximum degree of this pump's energy is in the middle of the day, when the sun is the hottest. It is less effective at sunrise and sunset.

It is worth mentioning that the firm that manufactures these modern pumps is the French "Pump Juinard" company. It has distributed its products in all parts of France, and certain European and American nations, as well as some Arab countries, such as Algeria, Tunisia, Libya, Abu Dhabi, Kuwait, and some African nations, like Cameroon, Mali, Upper Volta, the Ivory Coast, Mauritania, Nigeria, Rwanda, and Senegal. The total number of solar-powered pumps in Africa alone is 45, apart from numerous pipelines.

This company, with the assistance of an international organization, "which has not yet been named," is making a study of the feasibility of organizing a huge project for solar energy in the province of North Darfur, to extract ground water. This company previously exhibited some of its products in the third international Khartoum fair in February, 1980. It selected the Abu Haytham commercial agencies in Khartoum as its local agent. This pump is a gift from the French government to the National Water Board in the Sudanese Ministry of Energy.

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EXPERIMENTAL FARM OFFICIAL DISCUSSES RICE CULTIVATION

Khartoum AL-SAHAFAH in Arabic 27 Jan 81 p 4

[Interview with al-Rayh Ahmad al-Zubayr, Director of the Experimental Farm in Abu Qasaba, by Muhammad 'Abd al-Baqi: "Pilot Experiment to Grow Rice in al-Duaym; 37,000 Feddans for the Total Project. Implementation of Project in Four Stages; Completion in 1988"]

[Text] Rice is considered one of the promising developing agricultural crops, which will soon take its place beside our other cash crops, to share effectively in supporting the strength of our national economy, and our program for food security. With respect to this subject, a meeting was held with al-Rayh Ahmad al-Zubayr, director of the Abu Qasaba experimental farm in al-Duaym.

[Question] What about the future of rice in the White Nile basin?

[Answer] The White Nile basin project encompasses submerged land in White Nile province. This land's total acreage is about 90,000 feddans, extending from Khur Abu Qasaba in the south, to al-Shatawi in the north. It is the area that the Nile waters flood on its west bank, after the Jabal Awliya' reservoir is closed. It can be enumerated as follows: the al-Shatawi area, 27,750 feddans; Abu Qasaba area, 47,430 feddans; the Zalqa' area, 8,500 feddans; the north Aba area, 5,730 feddans; the south Aba area, 1,070 feddans; and other areas, 1,340 feddans.

With regard to Sudan, it began to cultivate rice in the south, in Tijan, Bahr Ghazzal province, and in the Malakal area, but there was no tangible expansion. Productivity was declining. Then, cultivation was extended to the Jazirah project, to achieve the desired self-sufficiency, and to the White Nile area, in order to raise production to the exporting level.

Rice is not considered a main food crop in Sudan. Despite that, we find that demand for it is constantly increasing, and that the region's production is insufficient for the country's needs. Moreover, Sudan imports 11,000 tons to cover total consumption.

In order to satisfy the increasing demand for rice, and also to reach self-sufficiency, in addition to the government's policy of diversifying agricultural crops to avoid the injurious effects resulting from dependence on one crop, the six-year

plan included increased cultivation of rice in the Jazirah, horizontally, by increasing cultivated acreage from 23810 feddans in 1976-77 to 95242 feddans in 1982-83.

Therefore, according to the six-year plan, production will rise to 57,000 tons, in order to give a surplus for export, amounting to 14,000 tons, since domestic consumption then will be 43,000 tons.

Rice is considered a principal food for nearly half the world's population, since we find that more than 1,400,000,000 persons in the Far East depend on it. The Far East is considered the center of world production, as well as the center of consumption.

We find that rice is a principal food for some African, Latin American, and Near Eastern countries.

World consumption of rice is estimated at more than 230 million tons. Studies estimate that expectations regarding the rate of increase in production and consumption is 2.4 percent in the world, between the years 1980-85.

#### Project Goals

[Question] What is the project's goal?

[Answer] The project aims at achieving the following:

1. Derive benefit from land which the White Nile floods and which totals 91,000 feddans.

2. Achieve self-sufficiency in rice, and produce a surplus for export.

3. Improve the population's social condition, by increasing their income, and work toward settlement of the nomads. The starting area of the rice project is Abu Qasaba basin in al-Duaym, where the first studies began. This basin is located 20 km south of al-Duaym. It was chosen to be a starting point, since experiments are being conducted there, from which benefit will be gained for the support of Abu Qasaba and the rest of the other projects. The total acreage of the Abu Qasaba basin is more than 20,000 hectares, cultivated as follows: 36,000 feddans to be irrigated; 952 feddan for irrigation canals, drainage and roads; 2,750 feddan for installations and buildings; and 6905 feddan of stony land, unsuitable for use.

According to studies that have been made, the project's installations will be as follows:

1. A restraining dam will be constructed between the White Nile and the area to be irrigated. Then, there will be control over irrigation from the White Nile waters, and feeder canals, irrigation, drainage and networks of irrigation and drainage streams will be built.

2. Construction of buildings

3. Organize the project's offices and activities. They will comprise:

- a. Organize the cultivation process for rice
- b. The office of irrigation and drainage network maintenance.
- c. Organize the industrialization, storage and sales operations.

The full cost of the project has been estimated at about \$82 million, and the production costs at about \$12 million, which will produce a profit of about \$32 million a year. It was proposed to implement the project in 8 years, in four stages (1980-88).

First stage,	7,143 feddan
Second stage,	15,238 feddan
First part,	7,619 feddan
Second part,	7,619 feddan
Third stage,	7,143 feddan
Fourth stage,	7,619 feddan
Total	37,143 feddan

With regard to production, studies are being made to produce two crops a year; accordingly, if the best strain is selected, and the best control over irrigation and drainage maintained, it is expected that, with the project's completion, total production will be 156,000 tons, since the main season's share will be 93,600 tons, and the secondary season, 62,400 tons per year.

In addition, the area of Abu Qasaba was chosen to be the rice experimental area, where a pilot farm will be built on a 310 [sic] feddan area. This will be implemented in two stages, the first of 119.05 feddan, and the second of 452.39 feddan. The goals of establishing this experimental farm can be summarized by the following points;

1. The possibility of growing rice twice a year
2. To study the agricultural averages of rice, and to determine the suitable specimens.
3. To study the feasibility of growing rice
4. To study irrigation, drainage and mechanization of the crop.
5. To study the technology of industrialization
6. To create a training unit especially for the rice farm and its industrialization
7. To study the social effects

Stage	In Hectares	In Feddans	From	To
First	3,000	7,143	April 80	December 81
Second				
First Part	3,200	7,619	April 81	January 83
Second Part	3,300	7,619	April 82	January 84
Third	3,000	7,143	April 83	January 86
Fourth	3,200	7,619	April 86	January 88

## Financing

With regard to financing, the Japanese government, in July 1977, made a grant of 500 million yen to construct the first stage of the experimental farm. It followed that with another billion yen to complete the second stage of the farm. The implementing company was the Japanese Nippon Kuwa firm. However, despite that, there were initial studies begun in 1977, and in light of those studies, it can be said that it is possible to grow rice in the White Nile basin. However, we are not in a position where we can make a final judgement on these results.

## Problems

[Question] What are the problems facing the project?

[Answer] There are three main problems that the project will face. They are irrigation, grazing, and marketing. They are problems which can be solved, if efforts are made to solve them. We will discuss them briefly.

### Problem of Irrigation

According to the Nile waters agreement, Sudan's share of water is 20.35 billion. With regard to the projects constructed and under construction, Sudan will consume 18.26 billion. Therefore, the remainder of Sudan's share is 2.1 billion annually. This amount is less than that required for the development plan proposed for the short term and the medium term, including the rice project. It is estimated at 9.3 billion. So, there is a shortfall of 7.2 billion. This shortfall will be compensated for, by means of the irrigation projects, which have begun to be implemented. They are the Jonglie canal, the Baru river reservoir, the Maqar project to raise the level of the Rusayris reservoir, etc.

The problem of irrigation in the White Nile project will be solved by completing the Jonglie canal. As for the Abu Qasaba basin, studies indicate that the amount that the project will require is .46 billion a year. The studies say that the project's actual need from the Jabal Awliya' reservoir is .25 billion. The remainder of .21 billion will be supported as follows:

Rain water share (July-August) .04 billion

Drainage water amount, to be benefited from, .09 billion

The amount that rises due to delving through exploitation, .08 billion.

The total is .21 billion.

### The Problem of Grazing

Estimates indicate that the number of livestock in the Abu Qasaba area is about 137,000 head, aside from the number in the other areas. They include sheep, goats and camels. These animals increase at a 4.2 percent rate annually, and they exploit the land, after the water suddenly disappears in April through July. Consequently, there is certainly no solution to this enormous number of animals during this period. This problem requires study, mutual support and effort to solve it. A committee has been formed, and the important task of finding a suitable solution depends upon it.

## The Problem of Marketing

The Arab countries are the principal market for Sudan, for the following reasons:

1. According to the feasibility study, the Arab market's needs, with regard to the expected population increase, as well as increased consumption, will rise from 550,000 tons in 1975 to about 770,000 tons beginning in 1978, i.e., a difference of 220,000 tons. If we consider that Abu Qasaba will produce 156,000 tons, we find that the size of the market is suitable to absorb this increase.
2. Proximity of the market, in terms of its strategic location for marketing rice in Arab countries, such as Saudi Arabia for example, as compared to production centers in South East Asia and America.
3. Social relationships and close cultural and political ties which bind Sudan to the Arab countries. They will arrange a loan to it to stabilize prices in the market.

There is one other thing. That is to improve the variety of rice, so that it will become stronger against competition. This is what we are trying to do now, in terms of selecting the desired characteristics, as well as progressively developing the means and efficiency of industrialization, and moving toward finding solutions to these problems. The pilot experimental farm has been established. It is a joint effort between the Sudanese and Japanese governments.

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CSO: 4802

## BRIEFS

AL-RAHAD AGRICULTURAL PROJECT--This newspaper has learned that the 1981-82 agricultural season will witness completion of the first stage of the al-Rahad agricultural project. This will amount to 300,000 feddans. The total project area will reach 803,000 feddans. This stage includes the allocation of 140,000 feddans of cotton, 103,000 feddans of groundnuts (peanuts), 38,000 feddans of fodder, 7,500 feddans of vegetables and fruit. 12,500 feddans were allotted for boundaries and grazing. Dr Daf'ullah Ahmad Daf'ullah, deputy director general of the al-Rahad agricultural agency, told this newspaper that the cultivated acreage this season totals 90,000 feddans of cotton, producing 540,000 kantars, and 63,000 feddans of groundnuts, producing 63,000 tons. He added that the agency's board has brought in machinery to pick cotton, for the first time. He said that the plan of action for the new growing season has begun to be prepared. Moreover, there are studies underway, aimed at introducing the cultivation of *durian* during the present season. [Text] [Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 26 Jan 81 p 1] 7005

AL-QASH BASIN RESEARCH--Kamal 'Umar al-Amin, secretary of the Socialist Union in Kassala province, and the acting governor of the province, opened a forum yesterday morning, pertaining to the first stage of the al-Qash basin research project. The preparation for this began in December 1979. It is worth mentioning that this project begins implementation with Dutch technical assistance, at a cost of four million Dutch guilders. This will be done through photographic maps and satellite pictures of the al-Qash basin area, in order to study the best methods of developing underground water resources, in addition to drawing up the mathematical model, which will clarify the amounts of annual water supply in the underground reservoir. The purpose is to change the amounts permitted to be used, because of the creation of the regional water commission, protecting it from the current usage now. Eight underground sites will be established, using manual and other wind pumps, to solve the water crisis in the rural areas of Kassala and the al-Qash delta. 'Abd al-Razzaq Mukhtar, deputy director of the al-Qash basin research project, told this newspaper that the chief of the Dutch water research institute, the secretary of the Dutch embassy in Khartoum, and the deputy director general of the national board for water resources, in Khartoum, would all participate in this forum's discussions. The second and final stage of this project, in the first part of next year, will also be discussed. [Text] [Khartoum AL-SAHFAH in Arabic 1 Feb 81 p 1] 7005

AID FROM KOREA--The Republic of Korea has granted economic assistance to Sudan, amounting to \$65,100,000 to support growth projects in the country. Of this amount,

\$65 million is a loan to the railroad, and \$100,000 is a grant in the form of agricultural machinery. The Republic of Korea has participated in construction of a tire factory in Port Sudan, and the Qasr al-Sadaqah hotel in north Khartoum. [Text] [Khartoum AL-SAHAFAH in Arabic 1 Feb 81 p 1] 7005

CSO: 4802

SULTANATE OF OMAN

HARSH TREATMENT OF POLITICAL PRISONERS CITED

Aden UMAN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic Oct, Nov, Dec 80 p 7

[Article: "Because of the Resistance and as a Result of the Opposition, the Bars Were Broken"]

[Text] The [Dennison] Intelligence Agency of Muscat issued a decree releasing a number of political prisoners who have been sitting behind bars since 1972 and 1974. During those 2 years Oman witnessed the most extensive wave of arrests, which resulted in scores of the sons of our people being thrown into prison and confinement. After mock trials these citizens were given sentences ranging from death to 10 years at hard labor.

Most of these citizens were sentenced to life in prison...Many of them were martyred by torture and merciless, inhumane treatment. They only released those who had served the terms given in those mock trials. As for those who received pardons from time to time, they had either served their time or their health had deteriorated to a point at which it was difficult to keep them alive in prison. There were also those who were released with only a few months remaining in their terms, and this resulted from specific pressures applied by the family or tribe of the prisoner, or came in the form of an exchange, where a relative of the prisoner (affiliated with the revolution) would turn himself over to the authorities. There are also those who were not sentenced to serve a specified period of time.

We present here the names of some of those who have been released during the past 4 years and in the most recent decree published last November. These are examples and are not all-inclusive.

- 1) Saif Abdallah al-Nasseri: suffering from diabetes.
- 2) Hamid al-Maqbali: advanced in years, who might have died in prison had he not been released.
- 3) Ashaq al-Kindi: He had completed his sentence.
- 4) Ahmad Hamid al-Fasani: a blind man, with only a few months remaining in his term.
- 5) Hafiz Ahmad al-Ghasani: In return for his brother's surrender to the authorities.

6) Jam'a Sa'id al-Sab': Suffering from cancer, released in the fear that he would die in prison, with less than a year of his term remaining.

7) Swid al-Salih: No more than a few months remaining in his sentence.

8) Mubarak Hamd: No more than a few months remaining in his sentence.

9) Sa'id Hamd: Left prison as a corpse

We have given these names only as examples. Indeed, as of this writing none of those citizen prisoners who were given life sentences have come out from behind bars, yet the puppets and mercenaries in the government beat the drum and blow the trumpet about "the glories of the Sultanate." One of its agents tried to portray the last [Dennison] decree as an "expression of goodwill" and as the "beginning of a new stage in relations between the government and the people at large based on love and tolerance," while the Nationalist Union issued a statement at the same time asking Oman for an explanation of the [Dennison] Intelligence Agency's arrest of a number of students on the accusation of membership in the Union.

One thing that is clear in this matter is that good intentions are not supported by their treasonous, conspiratorial methods. As long as treason and conspiracy continue, there are evil intentions toward the people and there is no possibility of directing a particle of love and tolerance toward these people, and, conversely, the people cannot harbor the least love or tolerance for this traitorous puppet-agent. As long as the puppet-agents insist on continuing their treasonous, terrorist methods and policies, a state of enmity will continue to exist between them and our people until the people resolve their struggle with them to its advantage.

The release of citizen fighters from behind bars is in no way the result of the good intentions of their agents, and it is not an expression of their desire to begin a new stage, as they claim. As the popular proverb has it: "the guardian of temperament is unable to restrain his own." Hence, this release came as the fruit of the great fight and struggle waged by the noble sons of our people, and the fruit of the stubborn resistance by these fighters against efforts to subjugate and subdue them on the part of the [Dennison] Intelligence apparatus, just as the puppet-agents were forcibly compelled to issue this order under the pressure of the rising people's cry of hostility towards their policy on this matter...to absorb it and preclude its results. Don't forget for a moment here the role that has been played and is being played by progressive Arab and World Public opinion, and all Arab and world legal and humanitarian organizations in pressuring the treacherous rulers in Muscat. No right that is sought after will be lost.

The Oman revolution, which these patriots have the honor of its membership, has forgotten for the moment its national, humanitarian responsibility towards these fighters, and has undertaken to carry on with its efforts for all the nation and the world in order to work to break the bars, which have not only violated the human freedom and nobility of Omanis, but has also undercut the creative, combative participation and innovations of these fighters.

Let 1981, however, be a year of an intensified campaign to demand the release of the rest of the Omani fighters sitting in the prisons of the puppet-agents in Muscat.

9310  
CSO: 4802

SULTANATE OF OMAN

**QABUS INITIATES NEW CRACKDOWN ON DISSIDENTS**

Aden UMAN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic Oct, Nov, Dec 80 p 5

[Article: "An Explanation of the Recent Wave of Arrests for Our Comrades"]

[Text] Our student masses:

Sultan Qabus has begun a wave of arrests in Muscat which has included many of our Omani students studying abroad, arresting them at the moment of their arrival in the country at the airport, preventing them from visiting their families and throwing them into captivity. Most of our arrested comrades studied in the United States, Cairo, and Qatar. They have been subjected to every kind of psychological and physical torture and have been accused of the following:

- 1) Membership in the National Oman Student Union and distribution of the Union's literature and publications.
- 2) Participation of our students studying in America in demonstrations organized by the Arab Student Union there against the Camp David Accords and American military in Oman, Bahrain, Somalia, and Egypt.

As soon as they were arrested the students were put in cold cells and stripped of their clothing. They were left in this condition without food or water for 4 days, which forced some of them to drink their urine. Then they were beaten and kicked while being interrogated.

The truth of the matter is that these arrests are the government's reaction to the increasing activities on the part of the National Oman Student Union, illustrated by the convening of the Union's second annual conference which took place in Damascus in August of 1980. As usual, the Sultanate has unleashed acts of terrorism, repression, and imprisonment, believing that this will be effective in suppressing the Union's activities.

We call upon all progressive powers in the world to stand with us in opposing this wave of arrests and help us free all our imprisoned comrades. We affirm our resolution and determination to continue the fight to redeem the blood of the martyrs and to realize the goals of our august Union.

Long live the National Oman Student Union.

Freedom to our imprisoned comrades.

The National Oman Student Union

November 4, 1980

9310

CSO: 4802

SULTANATE OF OMAN

NON-ALIGNMENT, SUPPORT OF U.S. INCOMPATIBLE

Aden UMAN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic Oct, Nov, Dec 80 p 2

[Article: "How Does the Muscat Government Understand Neutrality and Non-Alignment?"]

[Text] The Muscat puppet government belongs to the non-aligned movement, and it has attained membership in this group by the same route and the same standards approved for full membership in the UN and the Arab League. More precisely, there are Arab and world elements whose interests were served by including this government in these institutions, in order to tip the scale over to the side of reactionary and puppet governments.

For their part, the Muscat Leaders' desire to acquire membership in these institutions is not based on faith in their ship in these institutions is not based on faith in their goals as such, it is for the purpose of concealing their own conspiratorial and treasonous policies. In the view of this government, neutrality means throwing oneself entirely and unconditionally into the arms of world imperialism in general and British and American imperialism in particular. Yusef 'Alawi, undersecretary in the Muscat Foreign Ministry, expressed this government's concept of neutrality when he said in one of his talks to students at the last student assembly which was held near the American installations in the Ru'us al-Jebal area: "The Sultanate's policy is rational, wise, and non-aligned. The Sultanate enjoys strong, admirable, and distinguished relations with the United States of America and Britain, and the two countries together offer all kinds of supports to the Sultanate..."

This is the Muscat government's understanding of non-alignment, that true neutrality in any country depends on relations that are "strong, admirable, and distinguished with America and Britain." Neutrality, yes...the neutrality of the Muscat government!!

9310  
CSO: 4802

SULTANATE OF OMAN

BRIEFS

ESTABLISHMENT OF U.S. BASES--American forces (or, as the puppet-agents like to call them, American technicians) began surveying a piece of land estimated to be several thousand square kilometers in size in mid-August of last year in the Simah region of the Omani province of Musandam. It appears that America intends to put in a new base in this area and weapons depots, and near that area, in an area called "Limah al-Habalayn," an army base has been built. It is necessary to point out that the Americans, in collaboration with the British and with financing from some of the developed countries, have undertaken to dig a canal through the pass between Limah and Habalayn in order to connect the Arab Gulf and the Gulf of Oman, and to be used in the event of any obstruction to navigation in the Strait of Hormuz. The canal is 9 kilometers long. It is well known that the government of puppet-agents has already turned over the administration of Musandam province to the American forces, because of secret clauses appended to the agreement. This administration has prohibited citizens of the area from going near the military installations it built, and from working on the ongoing military construction projects. The administration has imported foreign workers (Koreans, Thais, and others from Southeast Asian nations) in addition to Americans and British. [Text] [Aden 'UMAN AL-THAWRAH in Arabic Oct, Nov, Dec 80 p 1] 9310

CSO: 4802

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